NOW IS THE TIME TO DEAL

Plaindealer—Kansas City, Kan.

November 7 is drawing nearer and nearer. . . . It won't be long before the big show is over. There is much speculation about the Negro vote. Smart political observers have predicted that the Negro vote will decide who will be President of the United States after November 7. . . . That indeed is a big thing. 9-8-44

We are in an important position, if we hold the political destiny of the Republican and Democratic parties. . . . That puts us in a position to be dealt with, not with mere political handouts, but it means that we are in the position to demand to be included in the scheme of big things with security back of them. . . . Those things that will raise us from second class citizens and allow us to enjoy the economic, political and social ideals that make first class citizens.

Our people have many grievances. They labor under numerous and varied handicaps. Their problems seem to multiply both in number and unyielding stubbornness. No race group should wish to be without troubles, for they furnish occasions for the exercise of all the elements that make for greatness. If there are times when it seems that our lot is harder than that of others that would not suggest despair and hopelessness, it would suggest a reason for being more determined to overcome. No group can continually nurse grievances and live happy, and there ought to be happy periods in the life of any people who expect to achieve. But there are times when the many problems of the race should hav serious consideration and a program of action made out looking toward improvement.

This, however, is a peculiar year and one that will furnish opportunity for Negroes to get some attention and some consideration in working out some of their stubborn problems. This is the year for much smiling and gracious handshaking. Very well. There will be plenty of hands to shake, there will be many faces to smile at beneath which there are pain and heartaches. While the candidates and their friends are shaking hands and smiling is a good time to draw up the chair and speak very frankly about some things you want done for the race. Better do it now while the program is in the making, for after it is made you will be expected to support it. Now is the time to speak out, and if you are not going to do it then step back out of the way and let somebody get there who will speak out. 9-8-44

Our people have plenty of patience. They have a record of loyalty. But they are being crushed and bruised by some discriminations and injustices that simply don't have to exist. Leaders in both parties know that and they can do something about much of it—and they can do it NOW. And they ought to DO IT NOW—don't wait until after the election. After men are elected to office they will find a lot of new responsibilities, they may be forced into new and strange attitudes—it may take longer to reach them. Now is the time to talk over some matters of vital concern to the race group. This can be done without radicalism, without threats and madness, and yet with all candor and frankness. This is no time to say things are all right when we KNOW THEY ARE NOT.

Hancock

The Negro Is At The Bat Politically

Journal + Guide—Norfolk, Va.

THE STERN LOGIC of events forces upon me the distressing conclusion that World War III is inevitable! The nations are not prepared in their hearts for the "lasting peace" for which millions of earth's gallant sons are dying. The very contemplation of a more brutal and devastating war makes us sick at heart but the facts must be faced albeit they be ugly. The suspicions and hatreds and prejudices and chicaneries and duplicities that everywhere abound are mute reminders that a lasting peace is impossible. 11-11-44

The hearts of the nations must be purged with the hyssop of suffering ere dawns the day of lasting peace. These are cruel conclusions but they can only be avoided by wishful thinking in which to indulge too freely borders on the fantastic. The world wonders what Gen. Eisenhower thought when he sent word to Germany that racial discriminations had to cease wherever the Stars and Stripes were raised aloft. What did the Germans think and say when they were being commanded to put aside practices that are held sacred in too many of these United States? How can the blind lead the blind? How can the nation with a beam in its moral eyes find the mote in the eyes of another nation? How can the unclean cleanse the unclean? 11-11-44

DR. HANCOCK

Guilty nations may lecture guilty nations and even put upon them grave pressures, but guilty nations cannot bring forth a lasting peace. Munich-minded nations cannot give this world a lasting peace. Great Britain may be able to explain away her guilt in dealing after a certain fashion with distressed India: the United States may justify her subjugation of 12,000,000 Negroes, but Britain and the United States cannot bring forth a lasting peace. World peace cannot be predicated upon race prejudice. 11-11-44

NEGROES AT THE POLITICAL SWITCH

Quite as important as the question of lasting peace itself is the question what would a prejudiced nation do with a lasting peace but strive for the more complete and permanent subjugation of minority groups and races? War alone breaks the stranglehold which the mighty nations have upon the lesser ones. War alone provokes the reflection that men are brothers. War alone forces the church to take stock of its resources, obligations and responsibilities. War alone gives the oppressed respite from their oppression and hope for a better lot.

Today, by reason of the war Negroes are sitting at the political switch with the opportunity to keep the train of national liberalism and progress on the main line, or they can turn this train into the sidetrack of reactionism with its greater pressure on the under groups. 11-11-44

At last—and for the first time since emancipation—the Negro is politically at the bat. He can strike out trying to play politics as taught in the Republican school of thought with its traditional lily-whiteism, or he can "single to right" and win a great political game—an election.

What chance would Tommy Dewey have before the mighty Stalin and the cagey Churchill? Joe Stalin is a statesman. "Winnie" Churchill is a diplomatic mastermind. Dewey is a "political rookie" and not ready for the big leagues. He needs further seasoning. Even if he were to take over the diplomatic ball, what could he gain through a line held by two such political tackles as Joe Stalin and "Winnie" Churchill? If these two big boys made up their minds to take "Little Tommy" out of the play, there would be nothing left of Dewey but a political "grease spot." 11-11-44

It is going to take a big man to sit opposite Churchill and Stalin at the post-war table. The fortunes of our great country will be at stake and we want a stalwart to make our representations.

—GORDON B. HANCOCK

12-2-44

Claim Negro Vote Elected Roosevelt

Ala.

Birmingham—Weekly Review

In an article to be published in the Nation magazine early in December, Henry Lee Moon, Negro assitant to PAC Chairman Sidney Hillman, will present figures showing that in a half-dozen key states nearly 168 electoral votes would have been lost to President Roosevelt if Negro workers had not given the Democrats their overwhelming support.

Moon's story will show that while the country as a whole was giving Roosevelt only 54 per cent of the total vote, Negroes in key industrial areas were giving him between 70 and 80 per cent.

'You Kiss Negroes, I Kiss Jews' Leaflet About FDR Big Gun Of Alabama GOP

Defender—Chicago, Ill.

11-4-44

By FRED ATWATER
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A new low in cheap politics was reached last week when Alabama's lily-white Republicans, in thousands of leaflets mailed throughout the South, attempted to incite race riots by saying in print to southern white voters, "Our Southern white civilization is being threatened. Our forefathers fought with much less provocation." 11-4-44

A bit of Jew-baiting was also added under the caption: "Can You Answer The $64 Question? What Man Said To 'That Woman'

"You kiss the Negroes
I'll kiss the Jews,
We'll stay in the White House,
As long as we choose."

It was said that the scurrilous leaflets were printed with the full approval of the Republican National Committee but for southern distribution only.

With a screaming headline reading, "The South Betrayed," the Republicans introduced a picture of Rep. William Dawson, Democrat, of Chicago, and at present the only Negro member of Congress. He was described as the Assistant Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Democratic party and featured speaker on the opening day of the Chicago "Black and Tan" Democratic Convention. 11-4-44

In an appeal to southern white voters to throw the Roosevelt-Truman ticket overboard because of the President's inclination to be fair to Negroes, the Republicans said that the Democratic party has been taken over by "Negroes, Communists, CIOs, city-bossed machines, Bureaucrats and a mob of camp followers."

Continuing, the southern GOP stated, "The carpet baggers and scallowags have moved in again to promote this time the racial equality scheme of the Fair Employment Practices Act.

"They plot for the ultimate elimination of our Jim Crow laws, for federal control over local elections, for opening schools, colleges, hotels, restaurants and public places to black and white alike.

"Already Negroes are sleeping in the same Pullman cars with whites in violation of state laws."

It was recently learned that the Republican party is working frantically in trying to line up all of the vicious anti-Negro elements in the South in support of Dewey and Bricker.

Gov. John W. Bricker, Republican vice-presidential nominee, made a direct appeal to the white Texans who bolted the Democratic party on the race question, when speaking in Dallas several days ago he admitted that the present Republican party, now the champion of State's Rights, is more like the old Democratic party than the New Deal.

Hate Sheets For Dewey

In Alabama the GOP is being supported by Hamner Cobb's Southern Watchman of Greensboro, Ala., and other such sheets throughout the state. Cobb is regarded as one of the most depraved Negrophobes in Alabama.

Southern lily-white Republicans are said to be also bidding for the support of John U. Barr in Louisiana. With headquarters in New Orleans, Barr has carried on one of the most rabid pro-southern anti-New Deal campaigns in the South. He is chairman of the Constitutional Democracy Crusaders, an anti-Negro and anti-Rosevelt movement.

Over the week-end in Mississippi, four of the state's presidential electors issued a statement that they would cast their electoral votes for Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in the electoral college. They are W. G. McLain of McComb, Clarence E. Morgan of Kosciusko and F. E. Everett of Indianola.

Their statement said that the electors had agreed to support the Roosevelt-Truman ticket, "providing nothing transpired to make their election inimical to the best interest of the South."

"Their (Roosevelt-Truman) appeal to the Negro vote in the North, promising to do away with race segregation in the South, ... and other derelictions, convinces us that they no longer represent the Democratic party as we have known it, or as Mississippians have know it for more than 50 years."

Liberia Eyed By American Big Business

N.Y. Amsterdam News
11-18-44
N.Y. N.Y.

American Government Aids in Road Building and Harbor Construction Program

WASHINGTON.—With the announcement last week by the state department and the Foreign Economic administration that an FEA mission is going to Liberia, increasing evidence is developing that the interest of the United States in this West African republic is taking on greater proportions. Whereas it might have begun as a wartime measure, it is now proceeding as presumably a good business deal.

There are historic ties between the two countries which have been guarded, more or less, by American missionaries who have gone to Liberia. The exigencies of war, however, prompted this government to do more than assume a passive interest in Liberia. First a defense agreement in 1942, then a land-lease agreement in 1943 were negotiated. Since then Liberia has joined the united nations and, of course, will have her delegates at the forthcoming conferences on the maintenance of peace.

The first real cue to American ambitions in the small republic was given over a year ago by a state department official speaking at the Chautauqua Institute, who observed that "Liberia looms out of all proportions to its size for a number of reasons," and expressed doubt "that in any plans which may be worked out for international security after the present conflict, Liberia . . will be one of the focal points of special importance to the Americas."

Until recently the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company has been almost exclusively the only American business firm in Liberia. Its large rubber plantation holdings have inured to the benefit of the people of Liberia. But with the FEA mission going there, other American business enterprises will shortly be finding an interest there. Already what is known as the Liberian-American corporation has been formed for the purpose of exporting palm oil and palm kernels. This concern is being aided by the Commodity Credit Corporation, a federal agency.

The official announcement speaks of the seaport which is to be constructed in Liberia. This is imperative if the other projects which are afoot are to have any value. At present there are not more than 150 miles of roadway in a country of 42,000 square miles. The American government is aiding in road building and in the harbor construction.

Dixie Press Calls Mrs. Dewey True Confederate

Defender—Chicago Ill.
11-4-44

CHARLOTTE, N. C. — Praising Mrs. Thomas E. Dewey as "a decendant of the only president the Confederacy ever had," the Constitutional Democrats here last week called for the defeat of President Roosevelt.

In a half page advertisement, carried in many Dixie hate sheets, the Constitutional Democrats reprinted an editorial from the Nov. issue of "Washington News Digest."

Real democrats, said the editorial will "cross the party line and split the ticket by voting for Dewey, whose Southern born and reared wife, a decendant of the only President the Confederacy ever had, would bring restored dignity to the White House."

Asking for financial contributions from "true southern Democrats," the ad declared, "This is our house—We built it, let's keep it."

Northwest Herold

Tobias Scores Negro Newspapers Supporting Dewey for President

Seattle, Washington 12-5-44

Harsh criticism of Negro newspapers which sold out to the Republican party is being expressed this week by Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the national YMCA, who supported Roosevelt for President although he is himself a lifelong Republican. In a persona

in photostat, Dr. Tobias mentions his appreciation of the editorial support given the Democratic party by PV. In a similar letter sent to Ludlow Werner, editor of the New York Age, a Republican paper which this year supported Roosevelt, Dr. Tobias said, in part:

"Even after it declared for Roosevelt, the Age did an honest and impartial job of reporting. I regret that this can not be said for some of our papers that are now piously asking that 'bygones be bygones.'"

12-5-44

Dr. Tobias probably had in mind the three large Negro newspapers which supported Dewey — Pittsburgh Courior, Afo-American, and New York Amsterdam News. The Tobias letter continues:

"Negroes of the nation have been deeply offended by the disloyalty of some of our papers to the public that supports them. While conceding any newspaper the right to choose sides, as part of the freedom of the press, Dr. Tobias takes issue with certain papers which, he charges, denied columnists and writers favorable to Roosevelt space in which to air their views.

He says that "some of the leading columnists who had favorable words to say for the opposition were forced to resign their positions because of editorial censorship of their columns." 12-5-44

Dr. Tobias evidently had in mind the recent incident involving Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and the Amsterdam News, which carried the DuBois column, As The Crow Flies. In a statement to PV, Dr. DuBois charged the Amsterdam News with editing from his column passages favorable to the Roosevelt administration. When this practice continued, Dr. DuBois withdrew his column from that paper, with a sharp letter of criticism.

The column of Roy Wilkins has also been missing from the Amsterdam News since early summer, after several years of publication in that paper. According to private sources, Wilkins is favorable to Roosevelt, wrote to that effect in his columns which have been omitted from the Amsterdam News, although Wilkins had been receiving his pay check regularly. A third instance involves the Afro-American, Chicago Defender, and Ralph Matthews, columnist for the Afro. The Defender recently charged that Matthews' column, one favorable to Roosevelt, was suppressed by the Afro, which went Dewey for the 1944 election. While the Afro denies this charge, it does admit that the Matthews column was omitted for one issue but published the following week, after the Defender charge had been made. The Afro claimed lateness of the Matthews column for the week in question.

The third large Negro paper for Dewey — Courier — had no suppression charges leveled against it, but it was noticeable that in the weeks leading up to election day, Courier columnists either sedulously wrote on innocuous topics far removed from the domestic scene, or else swung their typewriters religiously into alignment with Dewey. 12-5-44

George S. Schuyler, Courier associate editor and columnist, penned a steady Socialist blast of hate against roosevelt, taking the incredible Father Divine line of "Don't Vote," since neither candidate is perfect.

Dr. Tobias concludes his Werner letter with a warning, "The people support the newspapers and they have the privilege of leaving undemocratic sheets on the newsstands, and purchasing those that at least approximate democratic ideals. I predict that increasingly they will do just that."

Montgomery Advertiser 12-[illegible]-44 Ala

Didn't Need South's Vote

The South honored itself and served the republic and the world by giving its solid vote to keep Roosevelt at the helm to guide us into a safe harbor. But the election returns show that he could have been elected if he had not received an electoral vote from the Southern States. This refutes the narrow sectionalists who tried to prejudice voters in the North by saying that "without the solid South the Democrats cannot win." Roosevlet received from States not in the South 278 electoral votes, 12 more than he needed. Commenting on the result Ralph McGill writes in The Atlanta Constitution:

"It must be very comforting to a worthwhile Democratic candidate to know he can count on the Southern States. Not for a moment do I mean to minimize that fact.

"Until the Republican party establishes a party in the South, which it could do with money and intelligence; and until it becomes a progressive party as Teddy Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Wendell Willkie and others have wished it to be, it cannot expect Southern votes.

11-21-44

"There simply has never been any reason for a Southern Democrat to vote the Republican ticket. This year there were some who did so vote, a number of reasons influencing them.

"The truth is, of course, that those gentlemen who have argued the South has 'got nothing' out of this administration, and who belabor the people on that point, apparently think of themselves individually.

"They ignore the fact there is hardly a community in the whole South which does not have either a new courthouse, a new school building, waterworks, community houses, swimming pools, crippled and blind persons who are being helped, new roads, bridges, health programs or some other tangible evidence of what they have "got" out of this administration."—Raleigh News and Observer.

Paul Robeson Hits Race Hate In Campaign

Northwest Herald
Seattle, Wash.
11-14-44

DETROIT, Mich.—Negroes, subject to racial hate in their daily lives, "deeply resent" injection of prejudice into the 1944 Presidential campaign, Paul Robeson, famed actor and concert artise, asserted here in a statement accusing Republican Party spokesmen of **"descending to the lowest fors of propaganda made infamous by the Nazis."**

He said that Negroes are determined that "prejudice must not become the poison gas of politics" and contended that GOP political techniques in this campaign have hitherto been used in America only by 'crackpot imitators' of Nazi leaders Hitler, Goebbels, and Julius Streicher.

11-14-44

"Republican propagandists would like to stir up hatred of minorities among Negroes on the theory that people who are subjected to prejudice themselves can be persuaded to hate some other minority group" Robeson declared. "It is the Nazi technique of playing group against group."

52-1944

We Begin by Purging Martin Dies!

People's Voice—New York, N.Y.

THE PUBLIC PURGING of Martin Dies from the American political scene is another proof of the mood of the new South. This mood which began with the political death of Gene Talmadge is increasing in intensity and perspective. If the CIO Political Action Committee accomplishes no more good than the ousting of Dies, it would justify its existence and the time and resources spent. Dies was America's public menace Number One.

5-20-44

The rapidly emerging new South poses a very interesting question and challenge for us of the North. Are we not too smug and complacent about our liberalism? New Yorkers, in particular, have always thought they monopolized things progressive. On the contrary, unless we bestir ourselves immediately, there is grave danger that the new South will become the citadel of liberalism in America. The pendulum always swings the other way. The soil of the South is fertile. Whether the soil that is enwatered by the bitter tears of oppressed blacks and whites, liberalism has always found easier going among the under-privileged. Here in the north we are creating a Northern Bourbon — a Northern Bourbon Liberal.

Look after disintegration from the radicals. A few years ago we proudly labeled ourselves radicals. Then we called ourselves liberals, and now we are progressives. And that is but one step from being a compromiser, which is the next to the last step from the grave of reaction.

The North today is progressive.

The South today is radical.

5-20-44

We are harboring here in the North, men in public life whose records though disguised somewhat, are no less vicious than some of their Southern counterparts. Take a look at the strange mating of the northern Republicans and the "white supremacy" Southerners.

Let us look at Thomas E. Dewey—again. In the first place, he's hard to find. Decent thinking Americans will always remember him for sabotaging the Anti-Discrimination law recommended by his own committee. And now comes his view on the Poll Tax. All credit should go to Walter White for nailing him for the double-dealing, double-face, doodler that he is. Any time the Governor of New York State cannot speak out boldly against the poll tax—and in no uncertain terms call for 100 per cent vote of every member of his party to be seated, he doesn't deserve to be Governor, much less President of the United States.

52

Any time a Presidential candidate has at his feet a man like Zimmerman of Wisconsin, who has a Klu Klux Klan and an America First record, he falls into the same category as Martin Dies.

5-20-44

Dewey, as president, would bring to the White House all the un-American, red baiting, anti-trade union and anti-Negro feelings of Martin Dies. The appointment of two or three Negroes to "Ivory Tower" positions does not fool us in the slightest. The leadership that counts is the leadership which is specifically interested in taking the cross off the backs of the millions of poor blacks and poor whites of this nation.

Fined Lawyer Helps Voters

Informer—Houston, Texas

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—Arthur A. Madison, ~~stocky~~, neatly dressed, quiet talking, New York attorney, who was convicted and fined $2,500 for his efforts to secure the ballot for Montgomery county Negro citizens has a well planned campaign to secure a half-million voters in Alabama.

5-20-1944

He expects to work his plan while awaiting a hearing on his conviction appeal next week.

52

New Ambassador to Haiti Is White

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Orme Wilson, white, of New York, foreign service officer now on duty at the State Department, was nominated last Thursday by President Roosevelt as ambassador to Haiti.

3-18-44

Ellis O. Briggs, white, of Maine, a foreign service officer, who is now counselor of embassy in Havana, was appointed ambassador to the Dominican Republic to succeed Arva M. Warren, white, of Maryland, who was appointed to the vacant post of ambassador to Panama.

The last colored minister to Haiti was Henry W. Furniss of Indiana, who served under the Taft administration. Madison R. Smith of Missouri and Arthur B. Blanchard of Louisiana, both white, served under President Wilson.

Follows Hoover's Example

During the American occupation this government was represented at Port-au-Price by General John H. Russell as American high commissioner.

Upon the withdrawal of U.S. Marines, President Hoover appointed Dana G. Munro, white, of New Jersey, minister to Haiti on June 28, 1930, and Norman Armour, white, also of New Jersey, on July 25, 1932. President Roosevelt followed his example and has appointed only white men to this post.

No colored man has ever served as minister to the Dominican Republic.

3-18-44

Prior to the appointment of a minister to that republic, the minister to Haiti was also charge d'affaires at Santo Domingo. John M. Langston and Frederick Douglass are among the colored men who served as charge d'affaires at Santo Domingo.

Willkie Analyzes GOP Platform for the AFRO

Afro American—Baltimore, Md.

7-15-44

By MICHAEL CARTER

NEW YORK—The Republican party platform on the race issue has "weasel words in it," according to Wendell Willkie, the "loyal oppositionist to the GOP."

I seriously doubt that Willkie would have accepted uncritically the GOP race plank as Dewey has done.

Willkie has always been a man with ideas and a real personality. Any platform issued by the GOP, had Willkie been its designee, would have been much more realistic and would have included at least some of the clauses expressed in Willkie's article titled "The Negro."

7-15-44

52

Still Dignified, Friendly

When I interviewed Willkie for the second time I found him the same cool, dignified, friendly man, seated in the same comfortably masculine law office on the twenty-third floor of a building in the Wall Street section.

I remarked that he had apparently gained weight. He replied that I too had gained some weight and noted that I had shaved off my mustache.

When, almost three years ago, I first entered the reception room of Willkie's offices (he is a partner in Willkie, Owen, Otis, Farr and Gallagher, a firm of Wall Street lawyers), I had objected emotionally to the huge oil portrait of him that hangs on the principal facet of the octagonal waiting room.

This time I found no objections to the portrait. This time I felt that I knew Wendell Willkie as a serious defender of minority rights.

Race Stand Blasted

Willkie did not at first discuss the GOP platform. Instead, he said:

"I get a hell of a lot of protests from people about my race stand. You expect to get the protests from the South, but the significant thing is the fact that you get many encouraging letters from the South.

"The letters I get are five to one against democratic treatment of colored people. But I am encouraged by the growing consciousness of fair play that is developing and expressed in the sixth letter."

Poll Exclusion Doomed

We began talking about the GOP platform and whether or not colored people would be allowed to vote in Georgia's primaries.

Willkie commented that the exclusion of colored Americans from the polls would not last forever and that later elections would tell a different story.

To the question as to "which party offers the colored people more?" Willkie said: "I haven't seen the Democratic platform on

Willkie's Draft of What a Good GOP Platform Is

(Mr. Willkie wrote this plank for a Republican platform in case his views at Chicago were sought.)

We reaffirm the deep and enduring obligation of the Republican party to guarantee to the Negro the full enjoyment of his constitutional rights.

To that end, we commit ourselves specifically to press for the enactment of the Federal anti-poll tax and anti-lynching statutes.

Beyond that, we promise the wholehearted effort of our party to make the following Negro bill of rights a living reality:

1. Negroes are entitled to the same educational opportunities as those given other American citizens.

2. Negroes should receive the same per capita expenditures of public funds for schooling, housing, health and hospitalization as is alloted to other citizens.

3. The Negroes' right to work must equal that of any other citizen and his reward should be the same as that of any other citizen for the same job.

4. The economic opportunity for Negroes shall not be limited by their color.

5. Negroes shall have the right of every citizen to fight for their country in any branch of the armed services without discrimination and with equality of opportunity.

the issue, because it has not yet been announced. When I see it I can tell you, and will be glad to do so."

Poll Tax Plank Criticized

He denounced the GOP recommendation for abolition of the poll tax in Federal elections by "Constitutional amendment."

WENDELL WILLKIE

Amendments can be added to the Constitution only after Congressional action and ratification by two-thirds of the States. "There is not much chance," he said, "of enacting such an amendment in your life time or mine."

He intimated that this plank in the GOP platform could be a part of the "weasel words," because the plank is, he felt, impractical.

"The nine Southern States could block it with the aid of their friends, and such a method is slow," he asserted.

Ga. Elections Flayed

Returning to the Georgia elections, Willkie described them as a "clear case of race oppression," with no "middle ground of mitigating circumstances."

They were, he said, "one of the few domestic incidents in which all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other."

"There can be no middle ground in evaluating that," he continued. "It was all wrong because there must be no second-class citizens. The Constitution recognizes only one class of citizenship for Americans—and that one type is first class."

When Willkie was president of a Southern utilities company, he fought the TVA. It seemed to me that this was inconsistent with his present position and I asked him for clarification.

Mr. Willkie said that, as president of the Commonwealth and Southern, he accepted a trusteeship and his concern was, therefore, to protect the interests of his stockholders just as a good President fights to protect the interests of the people.

So far as the consistency of his attitude is concerned, he said that he had fought the Klan in 1924, and his position on race relations was the same then as it is today.

Best Hope in America

Although he did not meet many colored people of African descent while on his world trip, Willkie observed that pressure against them, in Egypt and in other places, "seemed to take the form of mass poverty rather than discrimination."

He declared that America, and not Brazil or Russia, offered the colored citizen his greatest hope, despite the slowness with which things develop here.

"Free Speech" Debated

"In leaving America," he explained, "you lose one basic right—free speech. The fact that you can come here and interview me is something in itself."

He reasserted that he was "sure America offers most." I remarked that colored people had very little "free speech" in about half the country, but he insisted that the USA was best.

President's Power Limited

I asked just how effective a President could be in bringing democracy to the colored minority. He said that a President can't be all things to all men. He can't promise a lily-white America to one set of people and freedom to another, but that he can use every democratic method at his disposal to promote equality.

Can't Hide Race Conflicts

Willkie said that the "public consciousness must be awakened" by careful, but complete, reporting of incidents of racial conflict.

"We can't cure those things by keeping them secrets," he said, adding, "I don't think any public figure has been as outspoken as I have in the case of race relations."

I tried to ask him whether he would support Dewey for President, but my question was not answered. I also tried to get him to state, definitely, whether or not he expected to re-enter politics. He gave no precise answer on that, but did say:

"Keep on Fighting"

"I'm keeping after these issues—race equality and other things. I don't admit defeat in anything. What can we do except fight like hell and never give up?"

He paused a moment and summarily said, "You don't give up in fighting for just causes; you keep on fighting."

That may, and may not, have been an answer to my question.

EDGAR BROWN

Spectacular Stunts, Nerve, Strategy, and Keenness Keep Brown in Public Focus

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

The Courier, Pittsburgh Pa. 8-12-44

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

AN intriguing and enigmatic character is Edgar Brown. He is a one-man political gang, with so much shrewdness, energy and information that those in national, and sometimes in local politics, must take cognizance of him. No more sensational or theatrical figure has flitted across the stage of political drama than this strange, volatile figure. It is Presidential year and Brown is in his element. He can be expected everywhere. His strident voice will carry into the most sacred caucuses of all parties. With a shining mane of smoothed hair, professional goatee, tinged with gray, bespectacled and erect, "Whiskers Brown" is playing a featured role in the politics of colored Americans.

Mr. Bibb

His methods may be scorned and condemned. He may be derided and ridiculed. There are those who may try to ignore this man, but Brown works with too much magic and chicanery. He compels both foe and friend to reckon with him in the fascinating and involved game of politics. Four years ago no man heralded and proclaimed the Rooseveltian virtues and the holiness of the New Deal, more vociferously than did Edgar Brown. Today, he is clamoring, with equal enthusiasm, for the GOP. He flits here and there, hither and yonder with graceful acumen. He not only speaks his piece from new platforms, but he keeps his name in constant print. He has a way with men on the city news desks of the powerful white publications. He gets his stuff in print with amazing regularity. Whether the politicos like it or not, Brown gets in the picture whenever there i an important election and th votes of colored people are to b counted.

8-12-44

BROWN PIONEERED IN LOBBYING

During the years gone by, th colored press gave little publicit about the exploits of this ubiqu tous character. He has perhap not received the credit nor th criticism that he, at times, meritec Our editors have attempted to giv Edgar the Coventry or cold-wate treatment and thereby some impor tant information missed print. Ou press did not record how it was al most through the sole efforts o Edgar Brown, that the appoint ment of Herman Moore, as Federa judge of the Virgin Islands wa brought about. He was doing cute bit of private lobbying, i Washington, long before his fel lowmen of color dreamed that suc a thing could be accomplished ef fectively.

BROWN was grabbing Congressmen by their lapels, telling them how to vote ~~and stay~~ in the good graces of the colored electorate, long before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People even opened up its Washington office. Senator Brooks of Illinois was "engineered" into presenting the recent anti-poll tax bill by Edgar, while Senator Claude Pepper, actual father of the bill, was elsewhere. It was Brown, who actually crystalizec the idea of a colored man going tc Congress, way back in the "roaring twenties." He pioneered against Congressman Martin B. Madden in he First Congressional District of linois, with William L. Dawson, hen the present Congressman ran s a Republican. Brown never got ny credit for these things, but we ave never heard him whining and pining. He has always been too asy in new pursuits.

AS DONE VOTERS SIGNAL SERVICE

Edgar Brown is one of the few en on earth who can figuratively e in many places at one time. A ew years back, this correspondent an into the gentleman five times n one day . . . at the office of the resident of the Pullman company . . in the foyer of the editor of he Chicago Daily News . . . in amuel Insull's magnificent citadel . . sitting in the guest room of a nost powerful Caucasian lawyer nd then he languished in my own uarters, when we arrived.

BROWN, then a Democrat, sat on the platform with Senator Taft and Wendell Willkie at Elwood. He introduced the writer to numerous Republican big wigs. He flitted around like a honey bee at the recent Republican conclave and was on the floor, hobnobbing with almost all of the State delegations. Now, to cap the climax, he appeared at the Democratic convention, with a photographer's badge and sat with the alternate delegates. We believe that he has done the American colored voters a signal service, in demonstrating the virtues of the two-party system. Brown has gotten his from both sides and we are led to believe that no one need ever pass the hat for him, this elusive brown phantom of politics.

8-12-44

Ask President To Stop Segregation At Inauguration

Chicago Defender 12-2-44 Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — Recalling that a "jim crow" affair was held for Negro visitors during the 1941 inaugural celebration, the D.C. branch NAACP this week called upon the President to prevent any racial segregation for the Jan. 20, 1945 inauguration.

In a letter written by William H. Hastie, president of the District NAACP, it was pointed out that the holding of a separate musical concert for Negro visitors at the Labor Department auditorium when the gala inaugural ceremony was held at Constitution Hall, gave Negroes grave concern as well as offense.

12-2-44

"It now appears that the forthcoming inaugural celebration will be far less elaborate than previous celebrations. We do not know the extent of the contemplated curtailment. However, we respectfully urge that no official inaugural celebration under sponsorship of the Chief Executive or his inaugural committee shall exclude any group of Americans because of race," the letter stated.

Jim Crow Evils 'Lashed By South African Bishop

Defender — Chicago, Ill. 11-11-44

NEW YORK.—In a sharp attack upon prevalent Jim Crow practices in South Africa, the Rt. Rev. S. W. Lavis, coadjutor bishop of Capetown, in a recent address before the Anglican Synod, said that the English as well as the Dutch sections of the European population must be held to blame for the existence of "insidious, cruel, and un-Christian color prejudice" against the Africans and other non-white peoples.

Referring to Jim Crow evils such as the color bar, pass laws, and denial of suffrage, the bishop declared, "To deprive people of the right to hope, to relegate them solely to manual badly-paid work, and to deny them the right of self-realization, is cruelty."

The Reverend Lavis warned of the dangerous consequences of racialism in South African politics, and said that it was necessary to challenge "without any mincing of words" the idea that persons with white skins were inherently superior.

11-11-44

His motion, which included clauses urging equal opportunity and fair treatment for all men, was adopted by the Synod, which also passed a similar resolution last year denouncing color prejudice.

The Council on African Affairs, in reporting the above information, declared that the future of the entire continent of Africa, as well as the Middle East and India, is endangered by the continuation of the Union of South Africa's discriminatory practices because of that country's strategic political and economic influence.

52a-1944

ROGERS SAYS:

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Negroes Swing to GOP Banner to Escape Dixie's Hand of Death

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

WHENEVER I think of the Negro in politics, always there comes to mind what Von Hartmann, the philosopher, said about life. "Life," he said, "was like a man on a sick bed, who, getting tired of lying on one side, turned over on the other side for relief. But getting tired eventually of that side, too, he would turn back to the side that once pained him."

10-21-44

Mr. Rogers

One does not have to be out of his twenties to remember when it was rank heresy for a Negro to vote Democratic. Then came the early 1930s when there began a change of heart. In 1932, there was a slight swing away from the Republicans, which grew greater in 1936, and by 1940 was practically a landslide. Since 1940, however, the Negro swing is again towards the Republicans. Today, we see influential Negro leaders and newspapers, once staunchly Democratic, declaring themseves Republican.

Why this change? What I am going to say is based, not on dead history, but on events which I recall vividly because of the feelings which some of them aroused in me at the time.

WOODROW WILSON SET PRECEDENT

The swing away from the Republicans had its beginnings under Taft. Theodore Roosevelt had taken a firm stand on the race question and in the matter of Negro appointments in the South seemed inflexible. This greatly disturbed the Republican politicians, henchmen of those who had large investments in the South. Accordingly Taft, as one of his first acts, announced that he would never appoint a Negro to office where it displeased the South. Jim crow in the Navy bearly began under Taft. Up to that time Negroes were petty officers. Under Taft they become only messmen.

10-21-44

AFTER Taft, came the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, who was very openly for jim crow. I recall very vividly how bitter Negroes were when he inaugurated jim crow in the Federal offices in Washington; and how he walked angrily out of a conference when William Monroe Trotter, Negro leader, spoke up to him against it. I remember well, too, the extreme difficulty that both colored and white leaders for justice had in getting Wilson to say anything against the East St. Louis riot, the greatest massacre of Negroes ever staged in this country, and just after America had declared war against Germany in 1917. Democratic Presidents, I notice, either side-step the race question, or are openly autocratic. Grover Cleveland once boasted to the press that he had never eaten with a Negro and had opposed mixed schools in New York, while its Governor.

10-21-44

HARDING ENDORSED RACE SEGREGATION

Of course, only a small number of Negroes had voted for Wilson. But after Wilson we went into a Republican regime, which, so far as the Negro was concerned, was not a whit different. Harding, in his Birmingham (Ala.) speech, gave the strongest Presidential endorsement of segregation made since Lincoln's speech at Charleston, Ill., in 1858. Harding, also, in that Birmingham speech, endorsed Lothrop Stoddard's odious book, "The Rising Tide of Color." Negroes were disgusted beyond words with Harding. They were weary of lying on the Republican side.

HARDING was followed by Coolidge and Hoover, who, while they spoke of justice for Negroes in their addresses, did nothing about it. The Negroes still had the Republican habit though and voted largely for Hoover. Before 1936, however, they were swinging to the Democrats, not because Roosevelt had done anything for them especially, but because of his social reforms in which they had shared to an appreciable extent. They also believed that he was the one better fitted to lead the Nation in its crisis, and, were influenced by certain racial incidents in which Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt had taken a firm stand, as well as certain U. S. Supreme Court decisions.

DOUBTFUL OF RESULTS

10-21-44

But now they are swinging away from Roosevelt. Why? Because they have forgotten him? I think not. They do so for the same reason they had swung away from the Republicans, namely, the South and its awful control over almost everything they would like to have. They see that Roosevelt and the more liberal Democrats, after 12 years, are powerless to cut themselves loose from that body of death. And as many turn on their sick bed back to the Republicans, they are in great doubt about the result, but are praying that it will be the last turn they will have to make.

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11 Running for W. Va. Legislature

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

WHEELING, W. Va. — (ANP) —Eleven West Virginia Negroes seek election to the house of delegates of West Virginia in the primaries on May 9. Six are Democrats, and five are Republicans. One is a woman.

5-5-44

The Democrats include the following: Rev. T. L. Thornhill of Beckley, Atty. Fleming A. Jones of Welch; E. L. James and Atty. C. E. Kimbrough of Charleston; Rev. T. C. Glashen of Beckley; and Ned Slaughter.

The Call

The Republicans are Mrs. Rosa Davis of Red Star; H. W. Dandridge of Beckley; Atty. J. M. Ellis of Oak Hill; Atty. T. G. Nutter of Charleston; and Atty. J. G. Travis of Welch.

Kansas City

Powell Changes 'Negroes First'

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y

Adams Clayton Powell Jr., stunned by the reaction of even some of his closest followers, to his recent assertion that he would represent 'Negroes first' if elected to Congress, adroitly shifted his position in a speech last Saturday before a group of Finnish citizens in Harlem. Speaking on the subject, "Negroes First," the former councilman said:

5-13-44

"It is true that there are 310,000 Negroes in Harlem, but there are also 100,000 Puerto Ricans, 2,000 Chinese, 3,000 Italians, 5,000 Finns, and in the upper section of the Congressional section, 5,000 Irishmen, Jews and Latin-Americans, other than Puerto Ricans. I promise to represent this district first.... not only the Negro people, but each and every citizen of this area irrespective of race, creed or political affiliation."

In taking this position, Mr. Powell went against the statement he made to newspapermen at a press luncheon at his home several weeks ago, when he said, if elected to Congress, "I will represent Negroes first, and all other citizens after that."

5-13-44

Speaking in the interest of his campaign for Congress, Mr. Powell said that any attempt to portray him as a national is a lie, citing his record of 14 years as a fighter against the "people's enemies to prove my point.'—R.S.

J. Finley Wilson, Leader of 600,000 Elks, Throws Weight Behind Governor Dewey

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

10-13-44

NEW YORK. — J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, with a membership of over 600,000 and chairman of the National Voters League Independent Committee for the election of Dewey and Bricker, this week threw the entire weight of his fraternal organization behind the Republican ticket, declaring:

"Our committee calls upon every sane thinking and sober minded American to determine whether the best interests of this minority group and the nation lies in a segregated wing of New Deal regimentation or under an administration pledged to grant and secure first-class citizenship to every American regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

"Every sincere American is desirous of giving his country the best and most efficient and honest administration in the post-war era, and resents the tactics of the machine bosses in their efforts to villify and malign Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's position in support of a permanent FEPC for the State of New York and for the nation," he declared.

The famous leader of 600,000 Negro Americans, who has usually taken a stand in national political affairs that is best for all Americans, has been for a quarter of a century active as a publisher and civic leader. His influence is wide; his contact varied; his viewpoint profound.

10-13-44

"There has been considerable discussion about double talk in this campaign," the doughty Grand Exalted Ruler declared in a press interview at the Hotel Theresa last week. "In regard to double talk, what of the double talk of the Four Freedoms with the Negro soldier jim-crowed and beaten, humiliated and sometimes murdered in an army dominated by bourbon tradition, and the Democrats writing a platform weaker on Negro issues than the Republicans and throwing out Vice President Henry A. Wallace, who alone of the candidates at the New Deal convention spoke up unequivocally.

"The Democrats substituted Senator Harry S. Truman, a messenger of the vice and crime Pendergast machine and office boy to a controller of those vicious activities which have throughout the years stigmatized the Negro community as unfit and indecent for habitation, as their vice presidential candidate.

10-13-44

"This is more than a political contest. It involves the future outlook, the hopes, the aims, and the ambitions of all people of color throughout the world.

On the social, economic and racial scene what is good for the Negro in America is good for all peoples everywhere because the Negro only desires to enjoy the full benefits granted to all citizens who make up a Democratic American society.

"These aims can best be attained under the leadership of the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey of New York and the Honorable John W. Bricker of Ohio, as Vice President, and with the liberalizing influence of safe, sane and sound Republican administration in Washington."

10-13-44

The National headquarters of Mr. Wilson, the National Voters League Independent Committee for the election of Dewey and Bricker, have been established at Harlem's world-famed Hotel Theresa; at the Woodside Hotel, also in Harlem; the Southway Hotel in Chicago, as the mid-western headquarters; and the Pacific Coast headquarters at Hotel Clark in Los Angeles.

The support of J. Finley Wilson and the Elks of the Dewey-Bricker ticket is one of the most significant developments in the campaign as regards the Negro. It is one of the first instances in which an all Negro organization of the magnitude, influence and power traditionally exercised by the Elks, has come out openly in support of either of the presidential candidates.

10-13-44

The Elks' membership is comprised of Negroes from every walk of life, from ministers, educators, physicians, school teachers, business men, labor leaders, and musicians to porters, cooks, railroad men, laborers and athletes. These people have shown their faith in the ability of J. Finley Wilson to lead by keeping him as Grand Exalted Ruler for nearly a quarter of a centryy.

The Republican headquarters in the Roosevelt Hotel here in New York were jubilant over the unsolicited support of J. Finley Wilson, the Elks and the National Voters League Independent Committee for the election of Dewey and Bricker.

West African Leaders Held In Slaying

By GEORGE PADMORE (London Correspondent)

LONDON (Censored)--Six sons and grandsons of the late Hon. Nana Sir Ofori Atta, the most distinguished West African native ruler of the Gold Coast, have been charged with murder. The case, which will be heard before the Criminal Assizes at Accra, capital of the Gold Coast has aroused the greatest sensation throughout West Africa, for it is alleged that the heart of the victim a minor chief named Akyea Mensah, was buried in the same grave with that of Sir Oforid Atta's as part of an ancient tribal custom known as "Werempim."

All of the accused persons are people holding prominent positions: Amoaku Atta, is inspector of the Akim Abuakwa State Police; A. E. Donquah, is the manager of Dua and company of Accra; the others are Asare Apietu, the Abontendomhene of Kwesi Apietur; Kwame Kagya; Opoku Afwence and Owusu Akyem Opoku.

At the preliminary trial, the prosecution was conducted by a young African barrister, Mr. J. S. Manyo Plange, Cambridge graduate, who holds the position of crown counsel.

Courier--Pittsburgh, Pa. 12-9-44

Dixie White Asks Ban On Negroes In Air Corps

Chicago Defender ILL.

12-23-44

ANNISTON, Ala. — The South has had enough! Now they want a color line in the sky.

The "sudden elevation" of Negro fighter pilots over Dixie was target for a bitter burst of race hate here this week.

The War Department was asked to bring down the Negro birds by an Anniston business executive whose son was killed in an air collision involving a plane piloted by a colored flier.

Saying that the "percentage" against his son's life was higher with a Negro in the air, the father of the white pilot pleaded with the War Department to end the use of Negro pilots on the grounds that they "are not yet qualified."

The heartsore but hate-ridden letter, written by Earl C. Knowlton, head of the Anniston water works and circulated by the Associated Press came after Lt. Earl C. Knolton Jr., pilot of a B-24 and 11 others were killed in addition to the Negro pilot of a pursuit plane in a recent accident near Charleston, S. C.

"With all my heart," Knowlton stated, "I resent our government's apparent determination to raise the Negro overnight, as it were, to a place in the civilization which he is as yet unprepared to assume."

Knowlton said he had no prejudice against Negroes and that Negroes were among the first to come to his home to offer sympathy for his boy's death. He said he was not writing a letter of hate.

"I knew that my boy might have to give his life for his country," Knowlton continued, "but I expected it to accomplish some useful purpose, and not to be sacrificed to the fanatical idea that all men must be allowed to perform on the same level regardless of background qualification."

Knowlton, who has a daughter, Capt. Louise Knolton, on duty in France with the WAC, said his forefathers fought on opposite sides of the Civil War and added:

"I hold no blame against the Negro who flew a fighter plane into a bomber, killing my boy and 11 others. He flew that plane because he was ordered to do so."

Not Yet Qualified

"It is the expression of the very deep resentment I feel toward the fetishism of our government in its attitude toward an unnatural and impossibly sudden elevation of the Negro to duties he is not yet qualified to perform," Knolton wrote.

"With rare exceptions, his mind is not prepared to make the split-second decisions which mean life or death in the operation of so swift and so complicated and so deadly a mechanism as an airplane," he continued.

"Some will say that the accident might have happened if a white man had been piloting the fighter plane. That is true. But the percentage against it would have been in my boy's favor," he added.

Ripping the Knowlton letter as a "underhand cut at the whole Negro race," Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, quoted the record of Negro pilots.

"We can understand the grief and disappointment of a father who expected that if his son should lose his life in serving his country, it would not be in an accident," Wilkins said.

Record Disproves Racism

"But the record of Negro combat pilots to date in actual combat . . . would seem to prove that Negroes are capable of handling a combat airplane and making split-second decisions at more than 400 miles an hour.

"Mr. Knolton says his letter is not one of hatred and we believe him so far as his feeling for this one Negro pilot is concerned, but his main thesis, which is that the Negro is still a kind of uncivilized, lower animal incapable of adjusting himself to civilization, is an underhand cut at the whole Negro race.

"From the very beginning in 1940, Negro Americans have spent most of their energies struggling to get a chance to fight the enemies of our country, and this incident is just one more of the many that have been used to discourage him and to relegate him to strictly menial and service work in uniform," Wilkins stated.

Reveal Role Of Africans In War On Japs In Burma

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

11-11-44

By GEORGE PADMORE

(Defender London Correspondent)

LONDON—(Censored) — Gradually the contributions of East and West African troops against the Japanese in Burma are being disclosed to the British public. Since General MacArthur's return to the Philippines, the B. B. C. (British Broadcasting Corporation) has announced the military achievements against the Japs in heavy fighting.

At the same time it has been announced by the British War Office that the King has given his approval for the word "Auxiliary" to be omitted from the title of the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps.

The African personnel of the Corps, who are employed not only on pioneer duties, but as combatant guard duties and in British anti-aircraft batteries, were recruited from Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. It is in recognition of their achievements in the campaigns in North Africa under Field Marshal Montgomery as well as in Sicily and Italy that the King has raised their status.

Some of the corps attached to the famous Eighth Army that broke the back of Rommel's African Corps at El Alamein, were recruited in British East and West Africa, especially Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Basuto and Swazi companies of the Corps who accompanied the Eighth Army through Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Tunis, Sicily and Italy, are intensely proud of their crusader "flashes" and of the fact that they served under England's most famous general, Sir Bernard Montgomery.

11-11-44

In keeping with Prime Minister Churchill's pledge to President Roosevelt at the Quebec conference that Britain will make a substantial contribution in the final struggle against Japan, the British Colonial Office has approved plans for recruiting and re-allocating African man-power for service in the Far East.

11-11-44

I understand that the plan awaits the agreement of the East African Governments and the confirmation of certain details by the War Office. It is hoped to recruit the largest possible native forces as the blacks are supposed to be better able to stand up to jungle conditions of warfare which characterizes the campaign in Burma. West Indians will also serve in this Asiatic theatre of operations. Forty girls from the West Indies and British Guiana recently arrived here to join the WATS.

52a-1944
The Call
Kansas City, Mo.
11-7-44

Negro Running For U. S. Senate Claims Robbery

COLUMBIA,-S. C.--Charges that election judges on orders of the white Deomocratic party "stole" votes that legally belonged to Osceola McKaine, first Negro to run for U. S. senate seat on a Democratic ticket, were made here Wednesday by John H. McCray, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic party, on whose ticket McKaine ran in opposition to Gov. Olin D. Hohnston.

"The will of the people was viciously and deliberately aborted," the chairman said, referring to a volume of reports from over the state that had reached his desk.

The reports, he said, came from several counties indicating that no ballots of the Progressive Democratic party were available at countless polling places and of instances where election workers refused to permit citizens to vote any ticket other than the so-called "regular" Democratic ticket headed by Gov. Johnston.

Denied Right Ballot

"At ward two here in Columbia where I voted," Mr. McCray continued, "the woman simply handed me the s straight white Democratic ticket, without asking first what ticket I , wanted. The fact that she did violate the law as voters are required by law to choose their own ballots.

"When asked for the Progressive Democratic ballot, all three women frowned and looked disgusted. They turned things upside down for about five minutes and finally thrust one at me. Immediately, a police officer approached and instructed me to scratch out the names on the ticket I didn't want to vote for.

The law requires you not to scratch out the names on the ticket and this I knew. When I insisted upon voting the straight ticket on the reverse side. The same was required of all other Negroes at this poll who voted the Progressive ticket and one man not knowing better, did scratch all names from the ballot excepting that of Mr. McKaine".

Continuing, McCray said, "one of the women workers insisted that I vote for Mrs. Fulmer. When I declined, she remarked: 'You might as well vote for her; she's gonna be elected.' "

Ballots Kept Out of Sight

Mr. McCray said that at most city polling places there was no difficulty in choosing the ballot the voter wished but at ward four, he said: "Up to 12 noon you couldn't get a single ballot other than those of the regular party. After that I called the manager and raised hell they put our ballots out. At 1:50 I rode over there and they had our ballots in sight."

Williamsburg county, at the courthouse in Kingstree, the election judges failed to display ballots of the Progressive party, the chairman said. Ballots were received by the board of election commissioners on Oct. 23, the Progressive party records disclosed.

Mr. McCray said that plans were underway to "contest the election on the grounds of fraud, initimidation and violent violations of both state ~~and~~ and Federal laws." The right of Gov. Johnston to take a seat in the U. S. senate would be opposed to the end, he said. Machiney towards this end was getting in motion Tuesday night. All minority parties were experiencing the same trouble, the chairman revealed.

The election manager for war four, Mr. McCray said, told one woman the reason he didn't have accessible the ballotsof parties other than the regular party was, "We had instructions from the regular Democratic party and intend to follow them."

When an unidentified whited man started to pick up the Progressive part's ticket at ward five, Mr. McCray said, an election judge became furious.

'Don't Vote That Ticket'

Placing his finger on the stack of ballots, around which was a rubber band, the angered worker exclaimed excitedly, "No, you can't vote that ticket; **it's the Negro ticket.**" The man chose another ballot and left.

Twice had one voter tried to cast the only federal ballot of the Progressive party at ward two in Columbia and twice was he refused "unless you vote all the other tickets here," one report to Mr. McCray revealed.

In desperation, he walked a mile to the state chairman's office. Placing the perturbed voter in his car. Mr. McCray rode him to the polling place. The frustrated voter was greeted with "I found out you don't have to vote them other tickets."

Eyeing the chairman, the election manager hurriedly swore in the next voter and permitted him to drop the ballot he had in the box without requiring the OK mark on the back they had required earlier in the day.

Policeman Helped Defy Law

Protest was lodged with City Councilman Lester L. Bates, chairman of the police commission, about the activities of a policeman wearing badge 140 at ward five's pollin place in Columbia.

The ~~pl~~ policeman, Mr. McCray said, would then insist that Negro voters "scratch out" names on the ticket of the Progressive party.

Councilman Bates, upon learning of the policeman's activities, became indignant, McCray said, and had the policeman removed.

52a-1944

GUEST EDITORIAL

By ROSCOE DUNJEE

New Masses — New York, N.Y.

AN INDEX FOR THE NEGRO VOTER

Mr. Dunjee is editor of the "Black Dispatch," influential Negro newspaper of Oklahoma City, Okla.

10-31-44

IF THE American Negro could but realize that this is a day and an hour when revolutionary changes are being formed in our social, political, and economic life, and that the Negro must adjust himself to this new pattern of living, there would not be so much difficulty among a number of our people in making decisions to support President Roosevelt for a fourth term. Just now, a section of Negro leadership shows alarming incapacity to shake itself free from its traditional protest complex and to undertake constructive action.

To me it is the height of stupidity for a black man to ponder and become alarmed over presidential tenure, so long as there are more fundamental and substantial issues that should command his attention. If a slave were released from bondage, would it be wise and prudent for the slave to advise with his former master on the length of life that should be extended to his liberator? This is the exact picture I see when a Negro leader begins to orate about how long President Roosevelt should remain in office. The important question for the Negro to decide at this moment is: how long can I retain the social, economic, and political gains that I have won under the Roosevelt administration? To pursue any other objective is to court suicide.

I plan to vote for and support the candidacy of President Roosevelt because in him I find an outspoken advocate of central control in government. I have always opposed the theory of "states' rights." The Republican Party, in its insane desire to shove Roosevelt off the political stage, has receded from its time-honored position on federalism and has joined with the most reactionary units of the Democratic Party in the espousal of the principles of "states' rights," and special legislation enacted by local governments, that has demoted the Negro from his status of complete citizenship since Lincoln gave him freedom. Jim Crowism, disfranchisement, segregation, low wage scales, inequalities in education, are all made possible by the application of "states' rights" to our governmental forms. I cannot conceive of sensible Negroes supporting any political party seeking to resurrect the undemocratic patterns which have well nigh frustrated 13,000,000 black men and women.

10-31-44

Negro leadership has often been stand-pat. That is the reason why many Negroes were wrong in their opinion when President Roosevelt selected Hugo Black for the Supreme Court. I held when Justice Black was nominated for the post he now holds, that he would bend over backward to support the program of the President. The fine outstanding record of this Alabamian since his elevation to the Supreme Court proves conclusively that those who criticized his appointment were wrong about his social outlook. In 1944 we find thousands of Negroes about to make the same mistake respecting Senator Truman of Missouri.

10-31-44

In their blind opposition to all white Southerners, these Negroes overlook Senator Truman's excellent record. They forget, or have never taken the time to find out, that Senator Truman during the past few years has voted for anti-lynching legislation, for anti-poll tax legislation, and has supported efforts to effect a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

I was one of those in Chicago who listened to that splendid speech of Vice President Wallace. I realize, as Senator Claude Pepper warned, that he was too democratic for the Democratic Party, but even so, if I am interested in the retention of President Roosevelt, I am too realistic to lose any time squabbling about water that has gone under the bridge. I do not believe during the next four years that the loss of Wallace as Vice President is going to effect any radical change in President Roosevelt's clearly defined program to free the masses from political and economic chains. Roosevelt and his liberalism brought Wallace into the national arena. Some folk seem to feel it was vice versa.

10-31-44

The forces now dominating the Republican Party are covertly opposing the new freedom that has come to the masses under the New Deal. What we characterize as the New Deal was never the official program of the Democratic Party. The New Deal represents the social, political, and economic philosophy of President Roosevelt. He has been dynamic and powerful enough to make this program acceptable to a majority of those with whom he is politically identified. Would it be possible for Negroes to be enjoying public housing, rent and food controls, stabilization of wages, farm subsidies such as were made possible under AAA, increase of land ownership as provided by the Farm Security Administration and the rehabilitation program, except through the exercise of federal power? Can there be any Negro outside of an insane asylum who feels that state government would have made an impartial approach to the Negro population in the administration of such governmental functions?

When the war is over and inevitable dislocations occur as a result of reconversion to peacetime production, would Negroes rather that job security be the responsibility of local governments, or would federal control, similar to WPA, NYA, CCC, and other federal agencies, serve best? Federal control is the Roosevelt way, and to my mind, the only way Negroes may find substantial relief during the postwar era. When Congress pitched the Murray-Truman-Kilgore bill out the window, every wide awake Negro in America should have leaped to the alert. This is the postwar pattern Republicans and reactionary Southerners have mapped for Negroes.

10-31-44

I could not conclude this statement without suggesting that during this confusion about postwar planning, one can get a clearer idea of what he should do by watching on which side of the fence the liberal-progressive forces of America align themselves. All of us must agree that the most militant voice of liberalism and democracy in America today is focused in the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This labor organization is working day and night for the reelection of President Roosevelt. In my judgment this is the best index for Negroes, come November.

Negroes Elect 18 Delegates

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

6-2-44

To Challenge White Group at Chicago Confab

COLUMBIA, S.C. — (ANP)— An all-Negro Democratic party, known as the Progressive Democratic party, endorsed President Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth term this week during its first state convention held here.

Representatives from the state's 46 counties elected 18 delegates to the Democratic National convention to be held in Chicago on July 19, with instructions to challenge the seating of "lily-white" Democratic delegates, selected a few days ago.

Formation of the all-Negro Democratic party is the result of consistent efforts by white Democrats to bar Negroes from the state Democratic party, and is designed to counteract their moves to nullify the recent supreme court ruling giving Negroes the right to vote in state primaries.

6-2-44

All-Out For F.D.R.

Based on a resolution read by Rev. W. M. Bowman of St. George, the first convention went on record of endorsing President Roosevelt for a "fourth, fifth or tenth term, if these be necessary to continue truly democratic government in this nation."

The President, the convention voiced, may serve "as many terms as his mental and physical condition will permit him to serve." Osceola E. McKaine of Sumpter, who delivered the keynote speech, opposed the idea of not endorsing beyond the present or prospective candidate on the ground it might be interpreted by Northern Negroes as an attempt "to lessen the esteem in which the Roosevelts are held for what they have done for us."

6-2-44

In his keynote speech, McKaine recounted the high offices Negroes have held in the state under the Republican regime dating from 1868 to 1878. "Did I tell you that once upon a time there were eight Negroes from South Carolina in the congress of the United States?" he queried.

"And did I tell you that once upon a time there were 76 Negroes in the legislature here in Columbia? Then I want to tell you this also: "We are going back to congress; we are going back to the state house; we again shall hold offices of honor and trust. Once more our voices will be heard legislating and administer-

Rev. H. H. Price, Plaquemine; R. L. Williams, Shreveport; Houston Dutton, Lake Charles.

6-2-44

From New Orleans—Leon L. Loeb, A. W. Reeves, Andrew Brown, Bishop Keller Morris, Gilbert W. Smith, J. W. Nelson, L. L. Haynes, Dr. Rivers Frederick, D. E. Byrd, M. Jones, ~~George~~ Snowden, Joseph Duncan, Felix Sampson, B. B. Ross, Atty. A. P. Tureaud, A. P. Chapitol, W. Scott Chinn, Dr. A. W. Brazier, J. P. Geddes, Robert Posey, Spencer Ellston, A. C. Alexander, Mrs. G. T. Tillman, Ernest Deepet, W. E. Harris, A. W. Zilton, A. Leonard, C. G. Bolding, A. J. Mayfield, C. J. Lowe, Arthur Perrault, M. T. Stringer, T. T. Lowe, Ernest Colbert, Alma Valley, Rev. A. C. Moore, R. S. Green and scores of others.

Why Roosevelt Made No Promises Before Election

WASHINGTON----

P President Roosevelt made no special promises to colored pe people and no changes in jim-crow Army set-up just before election because of the public opinion polls.

Several weeks ago, a poll by Fortune Magazine indicated that 70.6 per cent of the colored vote would go to the President.

Increase on Second Poll

To make certain, a second secret poll was ordered and the result as handed to the White House indicated that the figure was 80 per cent.

With the colored vote "in the bag" as completely as the white vote in the Democratic South was for FDR, the President's advisers urged him to stand pat.

In 1940, when the colored vote swung to Willkie, FDR in pre-election maneuvers, elevated Col. B.O. Davis to the rank of general and named William Hastie as civilian aide to the Secretary of War.

The single move in 1944, was to take the color bar down which prevented colored women from joining the WAVES and Spars.

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
11-11-44

The

17 Seek Office

5-5-44 Kansas City, Mo.

Kansas Citians File for August Primary Election

The CALL

When the deadline for filing candidacies arrived at Tuesday midnight, 17 Negroes of Kansas City had signified their intention of running for office in the Aug. 1 primary election.

Three filed for representative to the state legislature and the others for membership on county committees, both Republican and Democrat.

William McAllister, an employe in the circuit clerk's office in the county courthouse, filed for legislator from the 4th district on the Democratic ticket.

Republican candidates for legislator from the same district are James H. Herbert and James D. Pouncey, both lawyers.

Sponsored by the Jeffersonian Negro Democratic club and backed by Guy Given, McAllister seeks the post now held by Thomas J. Gill of the 15th Street organization headed by Henry McKissick.

Major Victory Possible

5-5-44

If McAllister wins in the primary, Negroes will be assured of a representative in the state legislature as both of the Republican candidates are Negroes.

Four other members of the Jeffersonian Negro Democratic club filed for committee posts. They are Mrs. Anna Brown, 1007 Vine, for committeewoman of the second ward; Grant McClellan, 1404 Tracy, for committeeman of the second ward; Charlie Bryant, 1923 E. 18th St., for committeeman of the fourth ward; and Mrs. Emma Hancock, 2401 Campbell, for committeewoman of the fourth ward.

Mrs. Brown has been employed in the county circuit clerk's office for nearly three years, assigned to the delinquent tax division. McClellan is employed at the union station. Mrs. Hancock owns a cleaning and pressing business and Bryant is the well-known "barbecue king."

Fight for Control

5-5-44

The coming primary will see a fight for control of the second ward and the 15th Street district. The old Welch organization, founded by Judge Casimir J. Welch and carried on by Gil P. Bourke, is now split into two factions, one headed by Henry McKissick, justice of the peace, and the other by Guy Given, former head of the organization.

Negroes make up a large part of the voting population in the district. Both factions are bidding for the Negro vote by putting Negro candidates in the race.

From McKissick's organization, two have filed for Democratic county posts. They are Mrs. Eula McAdams, 1715 E. 26th St., for committeewoman of the fourth ward, and Chester Milligan, 919 Highland, for committeeman of second ward.

Republicans are eyeing the district with more interest than they have had in years because of the split of the 15th St. organization into two factions. For years the 15th St. district has been a Democratic stronghold with Republican candidates having little chance.

File in 11th Ward

Other Negroes who have filed places on the county committees are:

11th Ward: Republican, Samuel W. Cameron, 2407 Montgall and Waverly T. Thomas, 2602 Olive.

4th Ward: Republican, J. Monroe Gilmore, 2443 Flora; Dr. William A. Hambrick, 2116 Troost; Dr. Benjamin Moore, 1826 E. 22nd, Democratic, Mrs. Emma Norman, 2602 Highland.

2nd Ward: Republican: Mrs. Marie E. Waters, 1309 Michigan, incumbent, and Mrs. Zula G. Butler, 1806 E. 14th St.

In filing for the legislature, McAllister, a veteran of World War I and an employe in the circuit clerk's office for four years, said that he feels it is time for Negroes to have their own representatives in the state legislature.

"Negroes make up the bulk of the population in the 4th district," he said, "and they should send a representative to Jefferson City." McAllister, a native of Poplar Bluff, Mo., has lived in Kansas City 30 years. He has been in the Democratic organization for 27 years and feels confident that he can win.

Dixie Leaflets Hit Dewey Drinks With Negroes

Defender - Chicago, Ill.

9-2-44

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—This city, the hub of the powerful political machine of Boss E. H. Crump, who several months ago tried to prevent A. Philip Randolph from speaking here, is again in the limelight because of scurrilous political activity.

A mysterious circular attacking Republican presidential nominee Thomas Dewey as being pro-Negro and in favor of poll tax repeal appeared several days ago in Memphis, Nashville and New Orleans at the same time.

The folders, which were unsigned, carried pictures of Dewey talking with Negro leaders while attending a cocktail party with Negro newspapermen. 9-2-44

Many white business leaders and others in this city have deplored the action of those responsible for the Dewey circular. They feel that the race question should be kept out of the shaping political battle for the presidency.

One Memphis newspaper, the Press-Scimitar, said that it had traced the printing of the circular to the Linotype Printing company, of which Charles Bowe, secretary of the Shelby County Democratic board, is a partner in business. Bowe denied responsibility for the printing of the circular.

One post office inspector here said that the mailing of the circular violated no Federal regulations.

Similar surreptitious attacks involving the race question have in the past been made against President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and former President Hoover.

Bishop Sims Serves On Dewey Committee

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

9-9-44

NEW YORK—Herbert Brownell, Jr., chairman of the Republican National committee, announced the appointment of Bishop David H. Sims of Philadelphia, presiding bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church for the first Episcopal district, as associate director of special activities of the Republican National committee, to present the candidacy of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey for President to the AME denomination.

Bishop Sims, in accepting the appointment, issued the following statement:

"I am for Governor Dewey for President, and for Governor Bricker for Vice-President for the following reasons:

"Governor Dewey is democratic in all of his government policies and procedures. He has been the governor of all the people in New York, keeping in mind the minorities as well as the majorities in all of his administration. An example is his recognition and appointment of qualified Negro men and women to policy making places in his cabinet. 9-9-44

"He is courageous, and courage will be an indispensable possession in the rehabilitation of the world. Especially will we need it in the Chief Executive and the Vice-President. Both Republican candidates have demonstrated it beyond a doubt."

52a-1944

We Are For Roosevelt

The New York Age, N.Y. 11-4-44

-AN EDITORIAL-

Next Tuesday, November 7th, the nation will go to the polls to make history at an election the like of which has never been seen, because it marks the first time that this nation, engaged in a World War, has held a national election. On the outcome of this election, when our Armies and Navies all over the world are winning important victories, will come the administration charged with drawing up and carrying out the peace which this time all hope will be a lasting one.

On the election, too, hinges the important question raised in the minds of Negroes all over the country — what of our future? Are we to consolidate the gains we have made and are making, or are we to go back?

52a

The New York Age chooses to believe that Negroes everywhere will choose to go forward and continue to fight with all their might for that common goal of all of us — **first-class citizenship in a real democracy.**

11-4-44

The New York Age also chooses to believe that Negroes everywhere will not be lulled by campaign oratory or glowing promises or even the cash which is said to be flowing so copiously in some quarters.

The New York Age, moreover, believes that, having weighed the issues as presented in these columns the past month, its readers will come to the same conclusion — that, for the best interests of the nation and its minorities, of

11-4-44

whom Negroes are the largest segment, **President Franklin Delano Roosevelt should be re-elected.**

The New York Age did not arrive at its decision to support the Democratic party's Presidential candidate without long and serious thought. Traditionally, as our readers know, The New York Age has supported without stint the Presidential candidates of the Republican party for the past sixty years with but one exception, in 1932 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt first opposed President Herbert Hoover.

11-4-44

But not even tradition should be allowed to impede progress. That is what support of the Republican Presidential candidate would do. It would set Negroes back to the days which none of us want to see return — the days of Herbert Hoover, breadlines, apple selling, want and special privileges.

Nor should Negroes forget what the doctrine of States' rights has done to them. History, itself, reveals that one of the principal reasons for the Civil War being fought was the doctrine of States' rights, which Thomas E. Dewey is so vigorously championing, that is responsible for Negroes in the South being segregated, jim crowed, denied equal educational opportunities, denied even the right to live without fear of lynch mobs. It is this same doctrine of States' rights which denies Negroes the right to vote; the right to receive equal justice in the courts of the South.

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11-4-44

Negroes will pay no heed to the spurious issues being raised by the Republican party's national leadership that President Roosevelt is responsible for all the ills visited upon the Negro. Negroes remember only too well that under President Roosevelt, Negroes have made greater forward progress in the armed forces than under any other President.

Negroes will remember, too, that while the Republicans are shouting about segregated units in the armed forces, that it was under President Hoover, a Republican, that Negro Gold Star mothers were given the worst insults ever handed to any local group of citizens. Negro Gold Star Mothers could not even receive the same commodious accommodations extended to white Gold Star mothers on their boat trips to France to visit the graves of their sons and husbands who gave their all in the fight to make the world safe for democracy.

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11-4-44

No, Negroes will not forget that it was under Republican President Hoover that Negro Gold Star mothers were sent to France on freighters and converted cattle boats while white Gold Star mothers went on luxury liners.

Nor will Negro voters forget that despite all the campaign talk they hear about anti-Negro Southern Democratic Congressmen, that it is Northern reactionary Republican Congressmen who have made an unholy alliance with these same Southern Democrats to defeat any progressive measures that would have benefited the masses. Our friends are our friends 365 days a year; not just at election time when they are seeking our votes.

52a

President Roosevelt has proven to be our friend 365 days of the year. He has done more to advance the status of the masses than any other single individual. The Negro has made greater gains under his administration than under any other.

11-4-44

The Negro knows that he must reward his friends and punish his enemies. That is why we are for Roosevelt and unreservedly recommend to our readers his re-election on November 7th.

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3 Democrats Bolt
Over Segregation

JACKSON, Miss.--Charging that the Democratic nominees for President and Vice-President have promised Northern colored voters to end racial segregation in the South, three of this State's nine Democratic Presidential electors declared last week that they would bolt the ticket and vote for Senator Byrd of Virginia.

They contended further that Roosevelt and Truman had accepted Communist support and therefore no longer represented "the Democratic party as Mississippians have known it for fifty years."

Pro F.D. Forces Outflanked.

Such a stand was indicated earlier by some electors, but pro-Roosevelt Democrats decided against putting a second list of electors on the ballot after Gov. Thomas L. Bailey said he has assurance that all nine would support Mr. Roosevelt.

52a

This action, coming as it does after the deadline (September 7) for electors to qualify, creates a quandary for Mississippi Democrats who want President Roosevelt re-elected, because all voter must vote for the nine electors or their ballots will be thrown out.

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
11-4-44

Democrats Trying To Win On FDR's Past; What of Future?

Call — Kansas City, MO.

10-13-44

By C. A. FRANKLIN

Two articles in favor of the fourth term appear in the current Negro Digest. Being by Negro newspaper men who know the needs and hopes of their people, it is reasonable to assume that they give all the reasons why a Negro should vote for Roosevelt.

Both writers deal with the past. Neither tells what Roosevelt's reelection will bring the Negro. The President has been silent about what he will do at the peace table, a silence that may be imposed by war conditions. But he could tell what he will do to help industry change over to peace production, the problem on whose solution depends the working man's job! His supporters claim much for him because of his experience, yet can tell of no plans for reconversion.

52a

'STATES' RIGHTS' IS PART OF CONSTITUTION

I present the arguments made by these two Roosevelt supporters, with my answer to them:

Statement: Roosevelt favors strong central government. He is against state's rights and local self-government. They waste the nation's strength and restrict Negroes to second class citizenship.

My answer: State's rights is the law! The Constitution reads: "Article 10.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

I say obey the law! Or change it! Sidestepping it by "executive order" under Roosevelt sets a precedent for ignoring it when someone like Bilbo gets to be president.

10-13-44

CAN'T SELL JOBS FOR A SONG

Statement: Roosevelt through Eleanor Roosevelt gets credit for Marian Anderson's singing in the Lincoln memorial.

My answer: We pay tribute to art, but "When do we eat?" Negroes like other men need work! Our vote is our best bid for employment. We cannot sell it for a song.

"BLOODY SHIRT" POLITICS COMES AGAIN

Statement: Roosevelt changed the supreme court His appointees blasted disfranchisement. A million Negroes in Texas and other southern states now vote "legally."

My answer: Negroes do not vote yet because southern supporters of Roosevelt, like Connally of Texas, keep them from voting.

I too am glad that the supreme court says Negroes have the right to vote in the South. But remember the right rests on the law, not on Roosevelt's favor. Justice is our right. We ought not have to bargain for it.

10-13-44

HELP THE SOUTH ROB NEGRO CHILDREN

Statement: The Republicans ditched the 300 million dollar educational bill in Congress.

My answer: The Democratic national platform of '44 calls for federal money for education on condition that its spending be in the hands of the states. Southern states already receive money from a dozen federal funds without spending a single dollar to benefit their Negro citizens.

Until they spend what they have fairly, why give them more?

52a

The other writer who states the case for Roosevelt, was less explicit in the reason for his choice. He talks but he is not convincing. For instance he says southern Democrats have no spiritual affinity with the President. How can he say that when state by state they lined up for his renomination and are the one sure vote he has for reelection?

FDR RESPONSIBLE FOR DISCRIMINATION

This sums up the case these two make for Roosevelt, after twelve years of the presidency during which he handled a domestic crisis and is commander-in-chief during a war. I said better than that of him back in 1940 when I praised his vision in preparing the nation for war. They do not mention that, because if they did, inevitably the Negro voter would realize that being commander-in-chief, he is letting the Negro in the armed forces be discriminated against, a monstrous thing when we fight for principle over seas.

Men Behind 'The Chief'

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Our friends who vociferously are advocating the reelection of President Roosevelt as the "indispensable man" fail to point out to the voters that retaining the President in the White House for four more years also means retaining all the men who are behind him.

These men who will continue to wield great power if President Roosevelt is re-elected are men like Tom Connally, Theodore Bilbo, James F. Byrnes, George of Georgia, Reynolds of North Carolina and all the rest of the conspicuous Negrophobes.

10-21-44

Because of the Southern Democrats' one-party system, most of these men will be re-elected anyway even if President Roosevelt is defeated, but the election of Governor Dewey will mean that their wings will be clipped in Washington and they will lose committee chairmanships and most of their power.

Consider James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, and sometimes known as the Assistant President.

Because of the vicious poll-tax system and other vote restrictions, Byrnes was able to be elected again, and again, and again from South Carolina, and served 24 years in Congress as Representative and Senator before he was boosted into the Supreme Court.

He was especially venomous against Negroes during the period after the last war and never failed to avail himself of the opportunity to slander and traduce Negroes.

52a

At one time he spouted: "If the two races are to live together in this country it may as well be understood that the war has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro. If, as a result of his experiences in the war, he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, he can depart for any country he wishes, his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country who desire no disturbing factor in their midst."

There has been no indication that Byrnes has changed his views about Negroes since the day he made that statement.

Indeed, in 1938 Byrnes led the filibuster against the anti-lynching bill, and threatened that he would continue the filibuster for 100 years unless the bill was withdrawn.

10-21-44

In 1937 he led the fight against the wage-hour bill. He also led the fight against the LaFollette Civil Liberties committee and also the fight to cut WPA appropriations.

As a reward for faithfully serving reactionary interests, President Roosevelt, the great liberal, appointed him an Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1941, where he outdid all his associates in reactionism.

Recently he conspired with such reactionaries as Senator George to kill the Murray-Kilgore bill for post-war labor benefits.

So pleased was the President with Byrnes' reactionary record that he gave him a favorable nod for the Vice-Presidency nomination, a position he did not get because of the violent opposition of white and Negro liberals.

Byrnes, however, is still "Assistant President," still wielding his reactionary influence, and if President Roosevelt is re-elected, the South Carolina Negrophobe will continue to be one of the most influential men behind the President in shaping the America of the future.

There are many others like Byrnes riding on the Roosevelt coattails.

10-21-44

They can never be shaken loose unless President Roosevelt is retired to private life.

We must judge a man by the company he keeps.

The company President Roosevelt keeps is definitely opposed to full citizenship rights for colored Americans.

52a-1944

THE LIVING

Defender—Chicago,

By HAROLD PREECE

Peonage Ala Dewey

10-21-44

BROTHERS, Tom Dewey's white friends up north are promising to slice the moon into chunks of apple pie if Negroes will vote for Marse Tom on November 7.

Tom Dewey's white friends down south are telling the pollcat plantocracy that the moon will still be a bowl of corn mush for colored people—if the plantocracy hitches its rattling old wagon to the falling star of that man who thinks he's got sense enough to take Franklin Roosevelt's place.

52a

But I've just been checking on the payoff of the deal that was made between Tom's northern friends and Tom's southern friends to enslave migratory colored farm workers, at a chummy session—held in Raleigh, N. C., last spring. If you want to vote for Dewey after you hear how that deal is working out, it's your privilege as a citizen. Personally, if somebody's trying to hang me, I'll be derned if I'm going to help pay for the rope.

10-21-44

As I write this, thousands of colored southerners will be leaving upper New York state, Dewey's stronghold, after having helped to harvest New York's crops.

They did not go to Marse Tom's territory as free Americans, able to work where they pleased and able to stay as long as they pleased. They will not be able to return to the South as free Americans, but will go back as peons.

They were herded up north under the old passport system of slavery days. They will go back south under the same system.

They have been shifted back and forth by the Southern state farm labor supervisors and by Dewey's R. R. Polson, state supervisor for New York. Mr. Polson has his headquarters in Cornell university at Ithaca, New York.

Cornell is dominated by one of its trustees who is a close adviser of Marse Tom. The trustee is rich New York publisher and farmer Frank Gannett who has helped float one fascist anti-Negro, anti-Jewish organization after the other; whose right hand man, Edward A. Rumely, who served time for helping Germany during World War I, and who has just been indicted for refusing to give Congress information on how much a Gannett organization is contributing to elect a man whose name might be Dewey.

10-21-44

Yes sir, he'p pay for the rope around your neck and vote for Dewey if you're tired of living anyhow. Our poor brothers, coming up from the South to harvest the crops of Dewey's friends in upstate New York, don't have a vote so that they can cancel out the harm that we'll do if we go off the beam November 7.

Held Out On Gas

FACT IS, they won't have gas to go North or gas to get back South unless they agree to stay in gangs and travel around under a blanket passport issued to the gang leader. "Individuals and families who move on their own are of secondary importance," says a memorandum, to New York county agents signed by Mr. Polson and reproduced in a recent issue of the Farmers Union paper, the National Union Farmer, published in Denver.

"If we in the North do our part in the Southern migratory program, we have every reason to believe that we can make a good deal for next year," says this infamous document whose subject is "Southern Migrants and Their Return South." There is to be a meeting, to tighten the chains around the limbs of the South's children of bondage, this month. State supervisors of the Atlantic Coast states will meet with representatives of the U. S. Extension Service which is dominated by the pollcat-controlled American Farm Bureau Federation.

10-21-44

"The entire program will be reviewed at this meeting," says the memorandum. "It is there the problems of the summer will be brought up, and where we will have a chance to make our bargains with the Southern state supervisors for another year."

A "bargain" of bones and blood. The bones and blood of our people who cannot vote, because Dewey's friends in Congress ganged up with the pollcats to kill the anti-poll tax bill without cadgy Brother Dewey saying a mumbling word.

Then the memorandum tells the county agents how to hold our brothers in bondage till the cotton is ripe and the whips are sharp, down south in Dixie.

"By obtaining the cooperation of local rationing boards and ODT, it will be possible to partially control the leaving time of southern migrants. We are keeping in touch with Florida. I talked with Mr. E. J. Debusk, state supervisor in Florida, August 18, and he tells me that they will not have much work for the migrants before October 15.

10-21-44

Kept Under Thumb

"THE COUNTY AGENT is to issue each crew leader an identification slip identifying him as a migratory agricultural worker. . . It would be well to withhold the issuing of this slip until the crew has completed its work in New York state and is ready to return south, or the county agent has rement before you issue identification cards and recommendations for gasoline and tires."

Tom Dewey is out to get the support of the plantocracy in the South and their brethren, the rich farmers, of the North. He's campaigning on the slogan which caused our fathers to take up arms in 1861, and strike that memorable blow for freedom which was the Civil War.

10-21-44

That slogan of the plantocracy—but not the slogan of the Republicans in 1861—was "states rights." In 1861, states rights meant the right of Southern gentlemen to buy and sell human flesh. In 1944, it means the right of Southern gentlemen and Northern gentlemen to swap human flesh—the suffering flesh of the black people and the poor white people who are the bone and flesh of the South.

Hancock

The Journal

Willkie and Wallace Super Political Casualties

8-19-44

IN THE POLITICAL strangulation of Willkie and Wallace we have one of the major tragedies of modern times. As political casualties they demonstrate with convincing conclusiveness that men of principle are not always the principal men. When the shuffle of politics consigns two such moral giants as Willkie and Wallace to the political shelf, we are forced to gaze upon a deplorable moral spectacle. The generations to come will look with lament upon our political machinations. Willkie was too big for the Republicans, and Wallace too big for the Democrats.

DR. HANCOCK

52a

When the best is cast overboard we must therefore struggle along with the second best. The four-square man stands but little chance before power politics. Idealism is one thing and good politics is another. Being square is good ethics but not always good politics. Speaking the truth as one sees it is ethical but speaking much and saying nothing may be good politics. Willkie who had something worth while to say and said it went down in defeat before the taciturn Dewey with little or nothing to say. Willkie had a vision and Dewey had contact and a pull.

Just after the world was recovering itself after the inglorious defeat of a great man like Willkie, merely because he was great, the defeat of Wallace served to drive home the gruelling truth that ethics and politics are not always good bedfellows. The defeat of these two moral giants raises solemn questions and chief among these is one relating to white friends of Negro advance.

8-19-44

Willkie and Wallace, two moral stalwarts have helped the cause of civic and social righteousness but they have sacrificed the opportunity to accede to political power where their influence for good might have been infinite. It matters not how good a man is he must be in position to do good. The defeat of Willkie and Wallace raises the question of just how good can a man afford to be if he wants to accede to political power? Should all of the good men get themselves politically knocked off and leave the field to the less scrupulous, or the more politically minded? When a man enters politics must he play ethics or play politics?

POLITICAL CASUALTIES

While Willkie and Wallace are political casualties they are moral heroes who by their very political defeat have served well their day and their generation. If neither man is ever politically heard of again they have played their part nobly and have placed the coming generations in their debt. Good men, like the truth, may be crushed but they will rise again and the eternal years of God are theirs. The things for which Willkie and Wallace stand will live when the dry bones of their traducers are bleaching upon the sands of time.

They have gained moral stature but they have lost the election. The two do not always go together. It takes all kinds of people to make a world. We need some Willkies and Wallaces and we need some Roosevelts and Deweys who know how to play the game of politics. We want Roosevelt re-elected and re-election is a matter of politics. Willkie and Wallace, moral giants and super-political casualties—the shame of American politics!

—GORDON B. HANCOCK

Dixie Newspaper Bars Hate Ad

Chicago Defender

11-18-44

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—The Columbia Record, the state's largest circulated afternoon newspaper, Monday summarily rejected an advertisement offered it by the Southern Democratic party, a coalition of big business Roosevelt-haters, because it carried an appeal to race prejudice, it was disclosed here Tuesday.

The advertisement, which castigated the Democratic party, and totaled 60 inches, violently smeared Negroes and wound up with the assertion that the Southern Democratic party was "truly democratic and 100 per cent white." It appeared in all dailies and nearly all white weeklies.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser — Montgomery, Ala

Please try to confine your letters to 300 words.

"LET HER BY TO VOTE"

11-6-44

Editor, The Advertiser:

The endorsement of President Roosevelt in an open letter to The Advertiser, written by Lillian Smith, adds one more "strange bedfellow" to the group under the all-encompassing wing of the Democratic party. The reasons for her enthusiastic endorsement are that she sees in Mr. Roosevelt the sole hope of "destroying all the white supremacy ideas in the world, all the segregation and jim crow customs, all the white and colored signs."

Strangely enough, the points that Miss Smith hates so much are the very reasons for my Democratic adherence. Now which of us is being deceived? If I felt that I were the one I would not hesitate, next Tuesday, to make all my good Democratic ancestors "turn over in their graves." For the sake of my peace of mind, I'll have to believe that it is Miss Smith who is indulging in a bit of wishful thinking.

11-6-44

Because Miss Smith has written a book selling the South short, that has been widely read (haven't people morbid and sensation loving tastes?), is no reason that she should appoint herself a prophet here in the South. If she cannot bear our racial barriers, I suggest that she choose a section of the country to live in where she can indulge to the fullest, her perverted appetite for the strange and malodorous fruit of her fancy.

Hold your noses, good old fashioned, conservative Democrats; let Miss Lillian ("Strange Fruit") Smith by to cast her ballot.

MRS. J. F. DUGGAR, JR.

Lionel Hampton Gives Powell $1000

Afro American

Baltimore, Md. 5-20-44

NEW YORK — Lionel Hampton gave a check for $1000 to the Powell for Congress campaign Sunday.

A thousand delegates cheered Powell who pledged himself, if elected, to work for a Federal Equal Rights Bill, to dare any "son of a Fascist" to push him around, and to return week ends to see his constituents.

Publishers Support Roosevelt; Show Faith In Liberal Policies

Journal + Guide — Norfolk, Va.

9-16-44

ATLANTA, Ga. — "I am for Roosevelt and I believe the majority of other Southern Negroes are . . . "so declared C. A. Scott, outstanding Southern leader and publisher of the Atlanta Daily World, the only Negro daily newspaper in America, in a statement to the press last week.

Publisher Scott declared: "I wish to state that my prediction is that the great majority of Negroes will vote for President Roosevelt for the following reasons:

REASONS

1. "They feel he has done an efficient job in prosecuting the war."

2. "It would be unwise to change the commander-in-chief at this time because of the intimate contacts President Roosevelt has had with heads of nations that are allied with us in the war effort."

9-16-44

3. "They appreciate the liberal policies as represented by the Roosevelt administration."

4. "I am for Roosevelt and I believe the majority of other Southern Negroes are because of his courageous tackling of the race problem as demonstrated by the FEPC and his action in regards to the recent Philadelphia Transit Company strike, not to mention the historic primary decision which came under his administration."

CONVINCED OF LIBERALISM

9-16-44

In backing the re-election of President Roosevelt, Publisher Scott joins hands with other great Southern leaders who recognize that the best hope for the full emancipation of Southern Negroes lies in the re-election of the President.

Publishers Carter Wesley of Texas and P. B. Young of Virginia, John M. McCray of South Carolina and Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma have expressed their faith in the liberal record of President Roosevelt and have urged that he be continued in office.

9-16-44

The stand of these Southern newspaper publishers who know most intimately the problems of the Negro in the South offers convincing testimony of the liberalism of the Roosevelt administration. No President since Lincoln has won the support of the Southern Negro leadership that is to-day being given President Roosevelt.

BACKS ROOSEVELT—C. A. Scott, editor and publisher of the Atlanta Daily World, the only daily Negro newspaper in America, told the press last week that Southern Negroes were in favor of the reelection of President Roosevelt because of his "courageous tackling of the race problem." Other south-

9-16-44

ern publishers backing President Roosevelt are: Carter Wesley of Texas, P. B. Young of Virginia, John McCray of South Carolina, and Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma.

Fortune Poll Shows Negroes In New York, Chicago, For F. D. R.

Age — New York, N.Y.

10-14-44

The Fortune Magazine poll of Negro opinion conducted in August in New York and Chicago revealed that 70.9 per cent of Negroes in those two cities favor the re-election of President Roosevelt, it was announced this week.

In New York City, the poll showed that 77.6 per cent of Negroes favored President Roosevelt while in Chicago 64.4 per cent favored the President.

The results of the Fortune poll confirms the belief among Democratic leaders that President Roosevelt will win New York and Illinois, two key states which may decide the election.

HEADLINES Footlights

By MARVEL COOKE

[*Pinch-hitting for Theatrical Editor Fredi Washington, who is on leave of absence*].

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

THIS WEEK, PV WISHES TO CALL to the attention of George S. Schuyler, NY editor and columnist of the *Pittsburgh Courier* which recently opened its doors to the "to-hell-with-the-people" Dewey forces, the drawing and poem reprinted in this column from the latest issue of *Music And Art*, a publication of the students of a New York high school by the same name. The poem reads:

10-21-44

TO PAUL ROBESON

Who through art has transcended racial hatred and become People's Artist of the United Nations Representative of a united world.

Look it up, Mr. Schuyler, for we want you to reflect upon one of the most—well, to put it politely—inaccurate remarks you have ever made. We want you for a moment, however, to think about that great man and apostle of his people, Paul Robeson, who has forfeited great wealth to serve all people and voice their hopes. High school students, Mr. Schuyler, know Paul Robeson to be such a man. The world knows that he is a forthright, talented and honest artist who has thrown his support to President Roosevelt because he knows that he is the one man in American life today who can lead us through victory to a just and lasting peace.

It is because of Paul Robeson, Mr. Schuyler, and a lot of great American artists like him that we resent deeply such studied misrepresentation of fact as appeared in your most recent *Views And Reviews* column in the *Courier* when you wrote: "All the 60 families want is complete control of the unions and they can rule forever. Roosevelt is giving that with the aid of the CIO-PAC which is getting powerful support from the artistic and entertainment crowd FORCED BY THEIR AGENTS INTO LOUDLY VOCAL SUPPORT OF FDR." (Caps ours).

10-21-44

For your information, Mr. Schuyler, theatrical agents are a notoriously grasping lot who fought desperately against the successful organizational drive that brought many branches of the entertainment industry within the jurisdictions of the CIO and AFL. They fought the drive because they knew their "take" would be cut to a minimum and they could no longer build for themselves large fortunes to be used for the further exploitation of young and coming artists. These are the cold facts, Mr. Schuyler, which you can check yourself. In the meantime, ask yourself this question: "Is it likely that these agents would be foolish enough to force their artists 'into loudly vocal support of FDR?'"

F · THE RECORD

Artists who have come out to support FDR in these critical weeks before election are men and women who have long been in the vanguard of the fight for interracial unity and progress and against the evil forces of fascism. Many of them were in the fight even before the Spanish Civil War. Few, if any, in the Dewey camp have ever been aligned with progressive forces. Check their names against the record, yourself, Mr. Schuyler.

Backing FDR are such famous artists and stars as Helen Gahagan Douglas, who is, herself, bidding for a Congressional seat from the 14th Congressional District in Los Angeles—a district populated thickly with Negroes and Mexicans. And there are Orson Welles, Marian Anderson, Bette Davis, Frederic March, Rita Hayworth, Muriel Smith, Teddy Wilson, Phil Moore, Jeni Legon, Leigh Whipper, Humphrey Bogart and hosts of others. Leading backers of Dewey include such artists as Clark Gable, Ginger Rogers, Cary Grant, Charles Coburn and Movie Tycoons Cecil B. De Mille and David O. Selznic. What have these people ever done for progress or interracial unity?

AGAINST POLITICAL ACTION

10-21-44

For your further information, Mr. Schuyler, studios and agents are dead set against their big name stars declaring themselves for ANY political candidate. If they come out for Dewey and FDR wins, they reason, progressive forces may boycott them—and vice versa. *PV* had evidence of this a few weeks ago when Theatrical Editor Fredi Washington called one publicity agent for a number of pictures of stars. He turned her down cold. Said he couldn't give her the pictures because he couldn't be sure to what use the paper would put them and his stars could not at this time become embroiled in the political campaign.

So you see, Mr. Schuyler, it isn't the agents or the studios or the managers who force their stars to back President Roosevelt. The motivation comes from the artist himself, who knows, if America is to by-pass the infamous Hoovervilles of World War I, he must, like Paul Robeson, go forward with FDR and the people in their march toward victory and peace.

Detroit Republican Leader Comes Out For Roosevelt

Age — New York, N.Y.

10-14-44

DETROIT, Mich. — Enthusiastic applause greeted the declaration at a mass meeting here by Dr. J. J. McClendon, Republican, and president of the Detroit Council NAACP, that "the Republican Party is the same old wolf dressed in sheep's clothing."

Dr. McClendon, speaking as an individual, since the NAACP forbids political activity by its officals, addressed a rally of more than 1,000 persons at the Ebenezer AME Church. The meeting was arranged for Ferdinand C. Smith, national secretary of the National Maritime Union, and Captain Hugh Mulzac, famed skipper of the SS. Booker T. Washington, who are on a nationwide tour discussing vital issues of the day.

GOOD DECISIONS

New York Age

The decisions of the two major political parties to discard their old practice of setting up Negro divisions are very welcome. Negroes do not cast their votes because they are Negroes, but because they are Americans. They vote not on the basis of the candidates' race, but on ability. They vote not in bloc, but individually and independently.

Republicans have named Dr. C. B. Powell to act as assistant chief of publicity and the Democrats have gone one, too, and named Congressman Dawson, assistant chairman of the committee, with power and with responsibility only to the chairman.

Both of these men are capable and astute politician and neither believes in mud slinging. From the lips of both, Negroes can expect to have the issues placed squarely before them. We can expect a clean, hard campaign from both parties.

Much will be heard about both platform promises during the campaign and we can except both Negro party leaders to dispel the fog.

—The Washington Tribune

522-1944

COLORED VOTERS HELD

Guardian — Boston, Mass.

The Guardian is highly pleased with the re-election of President Roosevelt. It has not generally been this paper's policy as followed by the founder, William Monroe Trotter, to endorse candidates for public office, though there have been notable exceptions. It will be remembered that Mr. Trotter repeatedly urged the re-elections of Mayor Quinn of Cambridge, an outstanding public official who always heartily responded to appeals of colored citizens for the erasing of inequalities. At the mree request of Editor Trotter Mayor Quinn removed from the Cambridge schools all offending text books. It will be remembered also that the Guardian's endorsement was given several times to Hon. James M. Curley than whom the race in Boston and Massachusetts never had a truer friend.

11-18-44

In this last campaign, the Guardian felt confident that the colored electorate would vote wisely and with remembrance their choice of president during the next four years. The result of their voting has justified our faith. In Massachusetts, Atty. Irwin T. Dorch for the Republicans and Dr. Silas F. Taylor for the Democrats did their work well, as did also local NAACP president Julian D. Steele. Now let us "close ranks" and with renewed determination strive to have augmented the gains already made under the administrations of President Roosevelt.

Chicago Defender

WORLD VIEW

11-4-44

By JOHN ROBERT BADGER

Chicago, Ill.

F.D.R. and Army Jim Crow

THE REPUBLICAN publicity boys have glommed onto what they regard as the keg of dynamite under F.D.R.'s reservoir of good will among Negroes. This is the question of discrimination in the armed forces. 11-4-44

So copies of the pro-Dewey Kansas City Call went out gratis to a lot of people recently. Because the Call contained a statement by one Grant Reynolds, formerly chaplain in the U. S. Army, telling why he, Mr. Reynolds, will support Thomas E. Dewey.

"I decided to oppose the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt," wrote Mr. Reynolds, "because I became convinced that he should be repudiated by colored voters for the unforgiveable treatment visited upon colored service men in this war."

Lincoln's Experience

11-4-44

I DOUBT if Mr. Reynolds would argue that McClelland should have been elected as against Abraham Lincoln. Yet, a striking parallel exists between the situation then and now.

Lincoln approached the question of accepting Negroes into the Union armies with great reluctance. In fact, he approached the question of emancipation the same way. You don't have to take my word for it. Mr. Carl Sandburg's monumental life of Lincoln, as well as our own Fred Douglass's autobiography, will convince you.

11-4-44

It was not because Lincoln was not a great and generous man. It was because he was a consummate politician. It was Lincoln's remarkable instinct for political timing—a characteristic also exhibited by Mr. Roosevelt—which caused him to proceed with great caution against opposition within his own camp. But this fact does not in the least negate or detract from the historical content of what he did.

Yet, Sandburg and Douglass will tell you, Negroes were first denied membership in the Union Army, then accepted as laborers, and finally admitted to combat sections. But they received only half the pay of other soldiers and could not become officers.

However, as Douglass well knew and advocated, even in such categories, the Negroes were helping to strike off their own shackles. And half a million did write a glorious record of heroism and achievement in destroying the feudal power of the slaveholders. But what if the treacherous General McClellan—the Dewey of his day—had become President of the United States?

Mr. Roosevelt's Record

11-4-44

IT IS absolutely false to say that President Roosevelt has done nothing to elminate discrimination in the armed forces. As a matter of fact and the facts are cited below, the Negro has advanced farther in the service of his country under President Roosevelt than under any other President of the nation, even including Lincoln.

This is far from saying that there should be any let-up in the fight against army Jimcrow. But lest we lose even the chance to continue this fight, it is necessary to remember this record of the President:

1. Negroes have been admitted into the Navy, Coast Guard and Marines as fighting seamen and commissioned officers;
2. Negroes have been trained as pilots and bombardiers in the Air Corps;
3. Negroes are in every other branch of the armed forces on a scale dwarfing their participation in World War I;
4. There are more than 5,000 Negro officers in the Army, as compared with less than 1,000 in the last war;
5. Negro and white soldiers eat, sleep and study together in officer training schools, even in the South;
6. Negro women admitted to the WACS, WAVES, SPARS and Army Nurse Corps without restriction;
7. Anti-Negro discrimination banned in Army post-exchanges, buses and theaters;
8. Scrapping of Army plans for jim-crow furlough centers for returning Negro veterans.

11-4-44

Much remains to be done. But only the blind fail to see that such advances can be made only under the kind of administration which Roosevelt personifies.

The Negro Vote

The Nation — New York, N.Y.

9-30-44

THE Negro vote in eight Northern states whose electoral votes total 203—of a grand total of 531—is sufficient to push those states from one of the major party columns to the other. Race relations have therefore become an important campaign issue. That they are more important this year than they were in 1940 is shown by the much greater space now given to Negroes in politics by seven representative New York newspapers. In the ten days after the Democratic National Convention of 1940, which followed the Republican Convention, one paper devoted nine inches to two items about Negroes. The other six carried no Negro political news. This year in the same period five of the seven newspapers carried twenty-two items filling more than sixty-six column inches. Half of them were news stories, four were editorials, and seven were found in columns or features. No especially big Negro news broke in the period studied.

This column has polled a sample number of Negroes in Harlem, the biggest single Negro community in the North, to determine their voting intentions. The persons to be questioned were selected after a careful study of past voting records and local social conditions. Of 581 Negroes interviewed, 30 per cent had not yet decided whether to pull the Democratic or the Republican lever on Election Day. Of the others, 74 per cent intended to vote for Roosevelt and 26 per cent for Dewey. Of the 581 people polled, 82 per cent said they had voted Democratic in 1940, 18 per cent Republican; of those who told us they had already made up their minds, 78 per cent voted Democratic in 1940. Thus no marked defection from the Democratic ranks was discovered among Negroes who have decided how they will vote. However, almost twice as many 1940 Democrats as 1940 Republicans (27 against 14 per cent) have still to decide.

The indecision found among Negroes parallels the indecision found among Polish Americans, on which this column reported recently, and may be explained in the same way. In the first place, certain special issues have arisen—dissatisfaction with the Administration's race-relations policies, and the influence of Old Guard Southerners in the Democratic Party—which have made 1940 Negro Democrats think twice about how they will vote. And in the second place, people of depressed social and economic status make up their minds late in the campaign. The highest proportions of undecided voters were found in two groups: one consisted of Negroes who were born in the South and never went beyond grade school—they will be drawn in later by their environment; the other of Negroes who had completed high school or gone to college and who were in doubt about which party has most to offer to their race.

Much the largest amount of Republican sentiment was found among Negroes born in the South who never went beyond grade school and are now forty-five years of age or older. This is probably explained by the old Negro Republican tradition, reinforced by fresh memories of the deeds of Southern Democrats.

9-30-44

Most Negroes intend to vote for the party favored by most low-income voters. This reveals an interesting political paradox, for racial discrimination against Negroes is apparently strongest among low-income whites. During the Philadelphia transit workers' strike against the hiring of Negroes, Mr. D. C. Gilchrist and Miss R. Thompson made a special survey of white opinion, asking 600 persons, "Do you believe Negroes should be given jobs as operators of trolley cars and buses?" To determine the effect of income on white attitudes toward Negroes, they took two-fifths of their sample from persons on an upper income level and three-fifths from those on a lower. In both groups the majority were in favor of job equality for Negroes. But 40 per cent of the poorer people were against Negroes getting qualified jobs in the transportation system, while only 20 per cent of the more prosperous felt that way.

9-30-44

Experience in previous elections suggests that most of the people who hesitate now will vote the same way they did in 1940. There can be no doubt, however, that there are elements of strain in the Negro community which make one section of the vote unpredictable.

PAUL N. LAZARSFELD, DIRECTOR,
BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Tobias Blasts Papers For Suppressing News

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

11-18-44

Harsh criticism of Negro newspapers which sold out to the Republican party is being expressed this week by Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the national YMCA, who supported Roosevelt for President although he is himself a lifelong Republican. In a personal letter to PV, reproduced here in photostat, Dr. Tobias mentions his appreciation of the editorial support given the Democratic party by *PV*. In a similar letter sent to Ludlow Werner, editor of the New York *Age*, a Republican paper which this year supported Roosevelt, Dr. Tobias said, in part:

"Even after it declared for Roosevelt, the *Age* did an honest and impartial job of reporting. I regret that this can not be said for some of our papers that are now piously asking that 'bygones be bygones.'"

11-18-44

Dr. Tobias probably had in mind the three large Negro newspapers which supported Dewey—Pittsburgh *Courier*, *Afro-American*, New York *Amsterdam News*. The Tobias letter continues:

"Negroes of the nation have been deeply offended by the disloyalty of some of our papers to the public that supports them." While conceding any newspaper the right to choose sides, as part of the freedom of the press, Dr. Tobias takes issue with certain papers which, he charges, denied columnists and writers favorable to Roosevelt space in which to air their views.

He says that "some of the leading columnists who had favorable words to say for the opposition were forced to resign their positions because of editorial censorship of their columns."

11-18-44

Dr. Tobias evidently had in mind the recent incident involving Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and the *Amsterdam News*, which carried the DuBois column, *As The Crow Flies*. In a statement to *PV*, Dr. DuBois charged the *Amsterdam News* with editing from his column passages favorable to the Roosevelt administration. When this practice continued, Dr. DuBois withdrew his column from that paper, with a sharp letter of criticism.

The column of Roy Wilkins has also been missing from the *Amsterdam News* since early summer, after several years of publication in that paper. According to private sources, Wilkins is favorable to Roosevelt, wrote to that eftect in his columns which have been omitted from the *Amsterdam News*, although Wilkins has been receiving his pay check regularly.

A third instance involves the *Afro-American*, Chicago *Defender*, and Ralph Matthews, columnist for the *Afro*. The *Defender* recently charged that Matthews' column, one favorable to Roosevelt, was suppressed by the *Afro*, which went Dewey for the 1944 election. While the *Afro* denies this charge, it does admit that the Matthews column was omitted for one issue but published the following week, after the *Defender* charge had been made. The *Afro* claimed lateness of the Matthews column for the week in question.

11-18-44

52a

The third large Negro paper for Dewey—*Courier*—had no suppression charges leveled against it, but it was noticeable that in the weeks leading up to election day, *Courier* columnists either sedulously wrote on innocuous topics far removed from the domestic scene, or else swung their typewriters religiously into alignment with Dewey.

11-18-44

George S. Schuyler, *Courier* associate editor and columnist, penned a steady Socialist blast of hate against Roosevelt, taking the incredible Father Divine line of "Don't Vote," since neither candidate is perfect.

Dr. Tobias concludes his Werner letter with a warning, "The people support the newspapers and they have the privilege of leaving undemocratic sheets on the newsstands, and purchasing those that

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at least approximate democratic ideals. I predict that increasingly they will do just that."

Chicago Defender

THE LIVING SOUTH

Chicago, Ill.

By HAROLD PREECE

11-4-44

Scottsboro to Roosevelt

I'VE JUST come back from Chattanooga where I visited my friend, Mother Ada Wright.

Most of you know of Mrs. Wright, and lots of you have heard her speak. She is the mother of Roy and Andy Wright, two of the Scottsboro boys, whom America snatched from Alabama's electric chair in that famous case which marked the beginning of the New South.

11-4-44

Mother Wright was a mighty worried woman when I talked with her in the neat little house which she shares with her daughter and son-in-law. She was afraid that the dark days of Scottsboro would return to swallow up the awakening people of the South if GOP presidential candidate Tom Dewey won over a man whom she considers to be another Abe Lincoln. That man is Franklin D. Roosevelt.

52a

She is sick from heart trouble and high blood pressure. But she managed to get out in that neighborhood of Negro working people to tell other people to register and vote for President Roosevelt "if you don't want your boys framed up like mine were framed up."

She was reading a late issue of the Chicago Defender when I knocked on her door and received a pleasant invitation to "come in." She was reading a front page story on how New York's Governor Dewey had sent the third Negro back to Dixie to face Dixie lynch justice.

11-4-44

She had also been reading a press release from the International Labor Defense in New York, quoting a Negro Republican leader, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, on Dewey's sabotage of a state FEPC in New York, and of how he had originally put in his presidential campaign speeches an attack on the national FEPC.

"That man is turning New York into a great big Scottsboro," Mother Wright told me with the same earnest conviction that won champions for her boys when she toured the country, speaking and organizing back there in another Republican era when Negroes were being starved and lynched wholesale.

"Lord God help the colored people if he's elected," she declared. "Because the minute he takes office all the mad dogs who've been locked up down here by Roosevelt will be turned loose again to chew us up."

11-4-44

Turning Loose Mad Dogs

"THE PEOPLE who tried to murder my boys back in 1932 are the people who are voting and campaigning for Dewey. Sam Johnston is backing Dewey in Alabama where three of the Scottsboro boys are still in Kilby Penitentiary. Gene Talmadge is backing Dewey in Georgia, and Cotton Ed Smith is backing him in South Carolina. I declare to goodness that I don't see how any colored man or woman, North or South, can vote for a man who is being backed up by these Dixie mad dogs."

52a

Mother Wright thought for a few minutes. Then she said: "If Dewey is elected, all of America is going to be one big Scottsboro. Our people will lose the jobs and the rights they've got under Roosevelt."

11-4-44

I know that Mother Wright is speaking the truth. I'm backing up everything she says because I'm listening to the voice of the New South being born in little houses like this one where Mother Wright liv with her daughter and son-in-law.

I've been listening to the voice of the New South which is for Roosevelt. I've been listening to Mother Wright and I've been listening to Jim Sparks, my white neighbor who lives down the road a piece from me in this mountain village.

I went down, the other day, to help Jim eat a couple of rabbits that he'd potted on the creek bank back of his house.

11-4-44

"Eat hearty, Harold," said Jim Sparks when his wife put the rabbit on the table. "If Dewey's elected, rabbit stew will taste good thirteen months out of the year."

Jim poured some good flour gravy over the rabbit and went on: "My wife has never voted in all of her life. She thought it was against the Bible for women to take any part in running the government. But we've got a couple of boys in the army, and the Dewey-pollcat gang in Congress stole their votes just like some onery no-count stole all my chickens last spring. She just sort o' reckons it would be against the Bible not to vote for a clean, honest government when that's what your boys are fighting for."

11-4-44

South Looks to North

MRS. WRIGHT remembers when she worked in the white folks kitchens, sun-up till sundown seven days a week, for three dollars a week. That's what she was making when her boys were picked up at Scottsboro in 1931 and sentenced to death by the same kangaroo lawyers, the same kangaroo politicians who would have the Texas primary decision of the U. S. Supreme Court overruled by some kangaroo court in Georgia.

But Mrs. Wright's boys are alive, and one of her daughters is drawing good wages in a defense plant in East Tennessee. "Our people are beginning to vote in the South, and our people are beginning to have jobs in the South," said Mother Wright.

11-4-44

"I hope that the folks up North won't vote them out of their jobs by voting for Dewey. I hope that they will give all of us a chance to win the vote by voting for Mr. Roosevelt, who's a good Christian man with a heart for poor people."

The New South remembers Hoover and breadlines, boys framed up and sentenced to death because they were riding in the same freight cars with women hoboes. The New South looks at its factories and its newly-won liberties, draws the shutters down on the past and pulls up the shades to let in tomorrow.

52a-1944

The New York Age, N.Y.

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

11-4-44

ONE MORE WEEK and then all the shouting will be over. And despite the apathy about the election shown in the various district club houses, this has been one of the most exciting political campaigns that I have witnessed. Certainly, it reached a new low in mud-slinging and name-calling.

One more week, and then all of us can go back to our normal pursuits without having to argue with our friends and acquaintances as to whom we are voting for and why. For more than a month I have been constantly asked the question as to why I, a Republican, declared publicly my support of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

It is true that no one has ever questioned my Republicanism.

11-4-44

It is true, too, that the Republican party had me as its State Senatorial candidate in 1942 and that I lost the election by less than 300 votes.

It is true that I have year in and year out urged my friends, and acquaintances to vote for Republican party candidates.

But, it is also true that I have always been known as an independent Republican.

And what is more important is that I was born a Negro first and became a Republican later.

During registration week, I went to the polling place and again registered as a Republican voter. That is my personal preference. I registered as a Republican because I believe that in the long run, Negroes will gain more from Republicans. I say in the long run, because at the present time the national leadership of the two parties is such that some definite changes will have to be made before I can subscribe wholeheartedly to the tenets and beliefs of the party with which I have long been identified.

11-4-44

I am an independent Republican, because I believe in being independent. I believe that no man has a right to dictate to me what my politics should be or for whom I should vote. I make my own choice; I have in the past, and will continue to do so in the future. That is why I, a Republican, am voting this year for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a Democrat.

I am less interested in President Roosevelt's party label than I am in President Roosevelt the man who has done so much to improve the status of the masses and the minorities. I am a member of a minority group and that group has received more help up the ladder to first-class citizenship under President Roosevelt than under any other President since the Civil War.

I am less interested in reading of the appointment of several "name" Negroes than I am in statistics showing how many plain ordinary Negroes have received jobs and appointments.

If this race of ours is to advance rapidly toward economic security, then it needs more jobs spread out among a lot of ordinary citizens than it needs a few jobs given to a few "big" Negroes. A few big jobs to a few Negroes at big salaries helps just a few Negroes. A lot of small jobs to a lot of Negroes helps a lot of Negroes.

I am interested in the masses of my people, because for too long have they been exploited by a few "big" Negroes who have travelled around boasting of how many votes they carry in their vest pockets. And the pity of it all is that a lot of white politicians, no matter how politically wise they might be considered, fall for that stuff.

11-4-44

I am interested in seeing all the old political hacks and chiselers, whose activities in the past have been a mill-stone around the necks of the masses, forever banished from the political scene. This can be done only by the masses repudiating, whenever they have the opportunity, the party which caters to these hacks and chiselers.

The day has long passed when the votes of Negroes can be bought and bartered by a few unscrupulous members of our race.

The day has long passed when Negroes can be stampeded into voting for Republican candidates merely because Republican orators point the fingers at Southern Democratic demagogues as typical of a whole party.

The day has passed, too, when Republican Congressmen of the North can ally themselves with these Southern Democrats without Negroes showing resentment.

The day has come. Negroes are emancipated politically and are politically independent. It augurs a new era for the Negro in politics.

11-4-44

It is only by refusing to be bought that Negroes will reach their full manhood in politics. The masses already know that; some of our leaders still have that to learn.

Don't forget to vote on Tuesday, November 7th!

All Over Until 1948

AFRO-AMERICAN Balt. Md.

Hurrah for the End of the Campaign!

11-11-44

We are glad it is over.

An election every four years is designed to give the people a new occupant of the White House, if they want one.

However, when a Presidential campaign is as bitter as the one through which we have just passed, the democratic process comes close to destroying itself.

Each side accused the other of dishonesty, of cheating and of fraud; of consorting with the enemies of the nation, of wasting money, of government mismanagement, and of dividing the people into hostile groups.

Supporters of the two chief candidates went further than either Roosevelt or Dewey in the reckless use of language. In the South, where ignorance and crudity are common, the use of the word lie is expected. But when a national committee chairman used a nation-wide radio chain to call a candidate for President an "unmitigated liar," it was plain that civilization is only a veneer and savagery lies just under the skin.

Bryan versus McKinley

As bad as it was, we can congratulate ourselves on the fact that the 1944 campaign was still an improvement over some of those of other years.

For example, in 1896, when McKinley (Republican) defeated Bryan (Democrat) in a close election by fewer than a million votes, the clergy used their pulpits to fight Bryan.

He was called a traitor, a degenerate and a rebel. Every kind of lie and fiction was invented to blacken his character because he chose to champion the cause of the common people in their fight against capitalism.

Cleveland Against Blaine

The 1884 campaign was a nasty one. Blaine was the GOP candidate. He had used his office in Congress to earn hundreds of thousands of dollars by pushing the sale of public lands to railroads. Blaine sold nearly everything in Washington that was not tied down.

To defend Blaine, Republicans exposed President Cleveland as the father of an illegitimate child by Mrs. Maria Halpin, a young widow of Buffalo. She had relations not only with Cleveland, but with three or four other men, at the same time. Cleveland had no way of knowing whether the child was his. Since the others were married and he didn't care to face a trial to determine parenthood, he accepted responsibility, cared for the child, never saw the mother again.

Then Democrats discovered that Blaine, the Republican, was secretly married first, then publicly married a few months later. They peddled the story that Blaine's first child was conceived out of wedlock.

11-11-44

Dewey versus Roosevelt

Although Dewey and Roosevelt exchanged strong language, they generally observed the Marquis of Queensberry Rules.

Public violence which manifested itself in 1940 in the throwing of eggs, tomatoes, stones and waste baskets at Willkie was absent.

However, when Dewey and Roosevelt meet, they will hardly shake hands without embarrassment, nor is it likely that they will converse in warm fellowship and part in mutual admiration as did FDR and Landon in the early part of the 1936 campaign.

There are also any number of voters, Republicans and Democrats, who today do not feel like shaking hands.

Radio Educates and Confuses

The use of the radio night after night by the main candidates and in the other hours by the small-fry supporters of both sides has made it possible for millions of people to learn the issues.

But the radio also served to confuse the voters, and no one who listened long to the conglomeration of propaganda poured through microphones this past week could help feeling that politics can be like the sermon of the old-time preacher—the more he unwound it, the more he wound it up.

In sheer desperation many a voter will agree that we have had enough of campaign speeches to last until 1948.

Yes, we are glad it is over.

Now we can get back to work again.

We have proved that even in the midst of a world war we can, as in 1864, conduct a national election.

We haven't endangered the conduct of the war. But we shall, should we fail to unite behind the President and support him as Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief.

Before the election, we were divided into two factions. After the majority speaks, all of us accept the verdict. The newly elected President is the people's President.

He is our President.

Pittsburgh Courier

VIEWS and ◆ Reviews ◆

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Now that election is over it is time to comment on how the Negro public was misled by prominent members of the so-called race. It was quite illuminating to look out of my office window or stand in the Hotel Theresa and see the alleged leaders from various parts of the country trooping into Harlem. The parade began around the beginning of September. For what purpose were the leaders gathered? They were there to get on the payroll of the two old parties and to tell their people not what they (the "leaders") actually believed, but what they were paid to say.

* * * 11-11-44

One has only to look at the Democratic Party expenditures to understand why certain Negroes supported a President and a party guilty of a thousand crimes against Negroes in particular and the American public in general. Although it was and is obvious to every intelligent citizen that the man is the creature of his party, these Negro "leaders" with transparent sophistry told their people to vote for Roosevelt, as if he were free of his party or had ever been free of it. If Roosevelt were an angel from Heaven on high, his criminal surrender of the Negro soldier and sailor to the jim-crow system of the unreconstructed (and Democratic!) South was enough to damn him in the eyes of every red-blooded Negro with any feelings of pride.

And yet here were Negroes like DuBois, Tobias, Robeson, the Rev. Mr. Powell, Sengstacke, Bethune and dozens of others going about the country whooping it up for a man who could speak systematically about the tortured Jews of Europe, but was too callous or too cowardly to speak likewise about the tortured Negroes of America. And when they supported the man, they were supporting his party. Even Walter White, head of an allegedly non-partisan organization, came out whooping for Senator Wagner, knowing that a vote for him would be a vote for the Democratic party, which had kicked the NAACP, Walter White and the entire race in the face from 1933 to the present, and was FORCED into doing everything it did, as NAACP records will show, by Negro militancy.

* * * 11-11-44

Then there were the Negro labor leaders corraled by the PAC or PRC (Political Reaction Committee!) who also came to New York earlier in the summer to get their orders from the Hillman Camorra. Of course these creatures were protecting their union sinecures, but they were certainly misleading their followers. Only one or two Negro leaders possessed either the vision or manhood to see and state the whole Roosevelt legal apparatus for "helping" labor is a clever trap which has already enslaved labor partially and is intended and destined to completely subjugate labor here as it has been in Germany and Russia. Only a few lone Negro laborites had sufficient perception to see that New Dealism was fundamentally as dangerous as Nazism and Fascism because it led in the same authoritarian direction; that no "One Man" or one party can give labor freedom; that freedom can only be taken.

52a

* * * 11-11-44

As I stated during the campaign, neither old party could solve unemployment, because it is inherent and inevitable in the capitalist system. And to assert, as so many of our so-called leaders did, that Democrats or Republicans can do so is simply a lie. Capitalism can only "solve" unemployment by war, and that is precisely why Roosevelt forced us into war after boondoggling failed, with the result that a half million of our best youths are killed, wounded or enslaved in enemy hands. Whom has this helped? It has helped only the Anglo-American ruling class whose bacon has been saved again by their serfs under the hokum of preserving democracy.

* * * 11-11-44

I also have watched with cynical amusement during the campaign how so many of our so-called artists from Robeson up and down crowded the Roosevelt bandwagon screaming canned nonsense to mislead and confuse their people. Traditionally most great artists have fought for human freedom, not human serfdom. And yet here were our proud contributions to stage, platform, night club and screen gallivanting around and lending their names to the support of a political gang that had thrown every obstacle in the path of their people's progress.

* * * 11-11-44

As far as a capitalist party can be, the Republicans were right in the campaign. The issue was definitely slavery or freedom, with the New Deal on the side of the New Slavery. Hungry for power, Roosevelt had, from the beginning, aimed toward dictatorship, which is always bad, whether under capitalism or communism. If Negro leaders had to take a capitalistic side, the GOP was the side, but if they were REALLY intelligent, informed and interested in racial welfare, they should have urged their people to vote for Norman Thomas and the Socialist party, to which the only alternative is ultimate slavery.

Great God, deliver us from our present crop of "leaders"!

Challenges Seats of 79 Congressmen

Afro-American

Balt. Md.

Elected In November from 8 Poll Tax States

12-23-44

CONGRESS BLAMED

Va. Body Cites Failure to Reapportion States

WASHINGTON (ANP) — The seating of seventy-nine Representatives elected in November from the eight poll tax States has been challenged by the South Electoral Reform League and the demand that evidence in the individual cases be taken has been made to the Congress, it is learned here.

Acting through Arthur Dunn of New York, authority on constitutional law, the league through this action hopes to force a new election of these Congressmen — seventy-seven Democrats and two Republicans — on the ground that and then I thought I was rich," Mr. Tate added.

"I have no intention of getting married, nor do I know yet what I would like to do with my inheritance.

"Most of the houses my aunt left me are in Boston. Others are in New York and Newark."

12-23-44

Congress itself violated the constitution in failing to reapportion the various States on the basis of the 1940 census.

It is charged further that by the operation of the poll tax laws of these States, ten milllions of citizens are disfranchised, thereby representing an abridgement of the right to vote as established in Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

"No Ballot, No Rights"—Dunn

"Congress will either have to nullify the Constitution or else change the Seventy-ninth Congress," Dunn said in announcing the contests. "The section is very plain and the courts have ruled that it is self-executing."

Dunn later observed that "the ballot is a weapon of the exploited against the exploiters. It's not a test of education or a determination of wealth," he added. "Unless you have a vote you have no political or economic rights."

The league is headed by Moss A. Plunkett of Roanoke, Va., who two years ago opposed Rep. Clifton Woodrum for his seat. Plunkett maintains that the poll tax can be disposed of through the courts.

He cited his victory in the Western District of Virginia this year where persons becoming 21 years of age were permitted to vote without the payment of a poll tax.

Adds 43,000 in Virginia

This "maiden vote," as it is called, will continue to be the right of those who turn 21. Some 43,000 colored and white youths took advantage of this victory in November.

In two other suits now pending in the Virginia courts the league is upholding the right of H. L. Saunders to be a candidate at large over the refusal of the Virginia Secretary of State to list him on the ballot; and the other contests the poll tax payment as a qualification for voting.

Dunn explained that the individual Congressman challenged will have thirty days in which to answer the charge. Forty days will then be allowed the league to present evidence and another forty days to answer, with ten days devoted to rebuttal. Testimony can be taken by anyone so long as it is sworn to.

52a-1944

Pittsburgh Courier

ROGERS SAYS:

Negro Voter Must Decide To Vote for Dewey and Break Grip of Oppressors

By J. A. ROGERS

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE last two weeks I gave as much as I was able to in a few hundred words, a resume' of the treatment of the Negro under the two major parties and a discussion of some of the present major issues of the campaign. This week I shall discuss the Negro in the coming election. I shall speak entirely without bias and would space permit, could give convincing reasons why I do. Not the least of these is that were there a third party, I would vote for neither of the two leading candidates. To my thinking, Norman Thomas of the Socialist party, is the only one who is daring to tell the American people the real truth.

Mr. Rogers

As regards the treatment of the Negro in politics, history has shown this undeniable truth: that there is a difference between State Democratic parties, especially those in the North, and the national Democratic party. The latter centers in the South and when it is in power the South rules the Nation. Last week The Courier gave a list of the important chairmanships held by Southerners in Congress—51 of them. You may set it down that in nearly every one of these committees it is thumbs down for the Negro wherever possible.

11-4-44

SOUTHERNERS RULE

The fixed policy of the Southern legislator is to keep the Negro a back-door citizen. The great majority of Negroes live in the South, yet not one of the eight or nine millions of them holds even a fifth-rate State or town office. And there is no prospect of their holding any. Two weeks ago Governor Broughton of North Carolina, speaking in New York City, gave the impression that race relations are perfect in his State. Yes, they are "perfect." But why? Because the North Carolina Negro is docile. And why is he docile? For the same reason that when a robber pokes a gun in my ribs and puts his hand in my pocket I keep still. And North Carolina is at that the most liberal of the Southern States.

11-4-44

THIS, then, is the kind of rule the Negro must submit to when the Democrats are in power in Washington. The President of the Nation is, in the final analysis, only the chairman of a committee, and can always be overruled. It is not necessary to say more. We all know that while Negroes are giving their life-blood on the battle fields, Southern Congressmen are shouting for white supremacy in Washington and agitating against them.

DIXIE LEGISLATORS DO DIRTY WORK

As regards the Republican party, its stronghold is in the North, where there is very little legal jim crow. Though Negroes are discriminated against in the North, they do hold positions in State legislatures, town councils, and other offices as judgeships that would be undreamed of anywhere in the South. It is not the South with its many more millions of Negroes that has sent a Negro to Congress, but the North.

11-4-44

WE are told that the Republican party is the capitalist party and that Northern capitalists are responsible for Negro oppression. I believe there is a certain amount of truth to that, but the subject is debatable. What I do know is that it is the South, with its insulting jim-crow laws, which is the greater enemy of the Negro. If the Northern capitalists dominate the South, it is still the Southern legislators who do the dirty work for them.

FOURTH TERM WOULD BE NO DIFFERENT

Roosevelt is dominated by the South. I say that as one who voted for him at the last two elections. To have any degree of harmony in office, to be able to put over any sort of program, he must have Southern co-operation, and to do that he must toss the Negro over to the Southern demagogue no matter what his personal objections might be. So has it been in his three terms. What hope have we that a fourth term will be different? None whatever.

MR. ROOSEVELT, while Governor of New York, made no Negro appointments worth mentioning. It has been quite different with Dewey. He has worked closely with Negroes while both District Attorney and Governor. The highest positions ever held by Negroes in New York State were given by Dewey.

DEWEY, ONLY HOPE

Now to be frank, I trust no politician or statesman. Unless he is a dictator he is never his own boss. I must say, however, that I am extraordinarily impressed by Dewey's evident sincerity and his clean-cut, orderly manner of thinking. I firmly believe that if he is elected he will keep his word, or at least put up a fight to keep it.

11-4-44

ANOTHER important fact: The Republican party, since Taft, has had a bad name where Negroes are concerned. But what proof have we that a Republican party under Dewey will be the same? None positive that I can see. It is my belief that if a Republican party can be elected with little support from the South it can be freer from that body of death than previous Republican regimes have been.

There are but two alternatives facing the Negro: To vote for Roosevelt and know what the next four years are going to be, namely Southern rule, minus war prosperity; or vote for Dewey and take a chance of being able to break somewhat the grip of the oppressor.

It is up to the Negro voter to decide whether taking that chance is worth taking.

'IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE'

Defender-Chicago, Ill

Negro America wrote history on Election Day. 11-18-44

By rolling up sensational majorities for President Roosevelt in every Negro community in the nation, the approximately three million colored voters who went to the polls demonstrated with ringing finality that they have broken the chains of tradition that has bound them so long to the moribund reaction of Republicanism.

They have taken their rightful place in the liberal camp and kindled the fires of freedom that cannot be blotted out until full, first class citizenship is won by every American with a black skin.

Cutting through the distortions and outright lies of tons of GOP political propaganda and a bought press, the Negro voter saw his fate and future with the man who has been the best President for the Negro since Abraham Lincoln. Party lines were tossed out the window. Everywhere new record majorities were cast for President Roosevelt, exceeding even the most optimistic predictions for a Democratic victory.

The Chicago Defender is proud of its role in clarifying the issues in this election. We cannot help but be jubilant at the results.

It has not been easy for the Defender in these past months. As a traditionally Republican newspaper since its founding in 1905 by Robert S. Abbott, we took our stand on non-partisan, independent lines. We were convinced that President Roosevelt was the hope of the Negro and that Governor Dewey's election would represnt a tragic setback to our amazing advances in the past decade.

Many were the bitter protests we got from tried and loyal Defender readers, who were not able to see eye to eye with us, who felt the Negro should not abandon the Republican tradition. But we also found comfort in the overwhelming number of readers who saw clearly with us that party lines went by the board in 1944 and principles became the issue.

The overwhelming vote for Roosevelt has justified our stand.

It is the usual practice after Election Day to accept victory with humility and laud your foe for making a good fight. While the Defender does accept the Roosevelt victory humbly, we cannot but note that the Dewey campaign was not in the American tradition of fair play.

Not only was the Dewey crowd intent on winning by any tactics, fair or foul, but even in defeat the Republican nominee has come through with a typical sour-grapes, "we-wuz-robbed" attitude that insists that he could have won if it were not for the war.

The Defender believes that while the war was a decisive factor in the election, still the choice of the American people and particularly the Negro people was based on the principles of liberalism that Roosevelt championed. America voted again—as it has in every election since 1932—against reaction as symbolized by the G.O.P.

Rather than accept the lessons of the election and change his ways, Dewey is standing pat and insisting that America turn the clock back.

But fortunately Dewey is not the Republican Party. The progressive influence of Wendell Willkie is still great despite his death. Dewey has shown in defeat a decided incapacity for leadership. He has demonstrated his lack of faith in the judgement of the American people.

The liberal leaders in the Republican Party should take heed. They would do well to adopt the Dewey campaign sloan:

"It's time for a change!"

WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE GOP

Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Even if it is a bit belated, it is worth noting at this post-election date some of the last minute Republican campaign efforts in the Deep South.

Paid advertisements in the Mobile Press-Register by the Dewey-Bricker Club of Alabama reached a new low in the G.O.P. record of deceit in the 1944 campaign. While Governor Dewey was talking out of both sides of his mouth in the North about Negro rights, Alabama Republicans carried on a "white supremacy" drive in the Deep South. 11-18-44

One ad openly proclaimed that Dewey's election would again mean that "white supremacy" would come into its own in Dixie. Another violently assails Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes for telling Harlem citizens that Roosevelt is "their main hope in efforts to prevent segregation."

Whatever illusions some Negro voters had about the Republican Party being the party of Lincoln should have gone definitely in this campaign. Whatever naive notions some had about the G.O.P. being the staunch bulwark against Dixie Jim Crow ought forever be dissipated. 11-18-44

Today the facts of 1944 politics are that both parties are hopelessly split into opposing camps. The Democrats have their Wallaces and their Bilbos. The Republicans have their Willkie followers and their "white supremacy" crowd too.

Never again in history ought Negroes be in the pocket of any single political party. Their future destiny lies in remaining a balance of power, always a doubtful factor in any campaign, but ever wedded to the cause of liberalism whether in either the Democratic or Republican Party.

More White House Silence

WASHINGTON SCENE

By Edgar Brown

Washington Tribune
Washington, D.C.

(The opinions expressed by this columnist do not necessarily reflect the editorial opinion of the Washington Tribune.—The Editor.)

President Roosevelt, well and strong but still conspicuously silent on racial issues, has returned to the White House from the 20,000-acre Southern Plantation in South Carolina, owned by his intimate crony, Bernard Baruch, also administration adviser, multi-millionaire and southern bourbon of the old school. 5-20-44

This is the same colonial estate, which Mr. Baruch informed the writer following a hearing on drafting fathers that he had recently decided to hire someone to teach his colored hired hands to read and write, so if they were drafted the Government would not have to further hold up the war effort on account of their illiteracy.

This was his comment, when pressed to use his influence with the President, since he could see him daily while colored New Deal leaders have been regularly denied a White House audience, since the days of Pearl Harbor. Mr. Baruch was urged to have the Federal Government initiate an educational project to supplant the Southern States' discrimination against a million colored school children. 5-20-44

This wealthy friend of President Roosevelt refused to help on the ground that he could not as a Democrat support any measure, however humanitarian or otherwise even if conducive to expediting the winning of the war, if it violated southern rights and the doctrine of white supremacy.

SOUTHERN NAZIS PUT ON SHOW

While President Roosevelt was resting in the balmy climate of South Carolina, during the past month, its State Legislature was making short order of repealing 140 odd "white" Democratic Primary Laws in definance of the latest United States Supreme Court decision.

President Roosevelt was treated to the tragic and sorry spectacle of just what some southern Nazis of his party think of civilization in 1944 and what total disrespect they hold for the contribution of the million colored soldiers and sailors in the Army and Navy who are sacrificing and giving their lives on every battlefield to save democracy which they themselves have never enjoyed in their own country.

NO PROTEST OF LILYWHITEISM

There is no record that all this frenzied crucifixion of equal rights caused any comment one way or the other by the Chief Executive. This Ku Klux Klan outfit is still today completely controlled by the unadulterated and full strength political medicine men of Mississippi and South Carolina under the unholy leadership of the present Senators Bilbo "Cotton" Ed Smith, Maybank, Eastland and former Senator James Byrnes.

This latter South Carolina "pole" taxer is now the President's right hand bower in Washington. He has been for the past year radio spokesman No. 1, for the administration as war mobilization director interpreting domestic issues on the home front.

WORST ENEMY OF THE RACE 5-20-44

Mr. Byrnes only recently resigned from the Supreme Court to move into the White House to be nearer the fountain head of the party.

There has been no more militant and persistent opponent of all legislation to improve the status of 13,000,000 colored Americans than Congressman and Senator Byrnes. He led the fight in defeating the Anti-Lynching Bill in 1938, every anti-poll tax measure, and never failed in the House to rise to make a point of order against the Federal Government's appropriation of funds to provite for the continuance of the inadequate opportunities afforded colored citizens at Howard University. This is the man in whose hands President Roosevelt has put the fate of colored people for 1944.

Is it any wonder the A.F. of L. Boilermakers Case, barring colored workers on the Pacific Coast, the railroad unions, proven discriminatory practices against colored workers in which his own Fair Employment Committee (FEPC) has demanded action by the President, have been completely ignored at the White House?

Life - Chicago, Ill. 10-30-44

Campaigning among the Negroes is Republican campaign strategy in California. Here it is done by William Campbell, Republican lawyer (*left*), candidate for Congress. Last week California seemed likely to go to Roosevelt, but local Republicans have a chance of winning.

Hancock

The Great Trial; We Must Back Roosevelt

Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

THE REACTIONARY Republicans led by the dashing dapper Dewey, have arraigned great Roosevelt before the judgment bar of this nation. The political scales are so delicately poised that nobody can with double assurance predict the outcome of the coming election. The untimely taking away of the great Wendell L. Willkie, leaves a political void that considerably confuses the issues which have been joined by the two major parties.

DR. HANCOCK

11-4-44

If by any stroke of fate Dewey gets himself elected, it would mark this nation as most desperately confused and frustrated, for the election of a man without the semblance of a platform would be a shame on democracy. If the reactionism represented by Dewey gains the ascendancy, this nation is in for some critical experiences. The Republicans are bent on returning the days of the so-called "rugged individualism" and with these days will come the revolution that Roosevelt prevented by as astute statesmanship as this nation has ever known.

A great trial is in progress and Roosevelt is playing the part of defendant with Dewey and his gang as plaintiffs. The jury is the electorate of these United States and the verdict will be rendered not many days hence. Of one thing the Negro may be well assured and that is, his fortunes are seriously involved. From the forces of reaction he has little or nothing to hope for; from these of liberalism, much. Negroes must not be deceived by party labelism.

ROOSEVELT HAS SHOWN HIS COLORS 11-4-44

Within the limits prescribed by a prejudiced nation Roosevelt has shown his colors; he and his daring wife have imperilled his political future by trying to play the game squarely. Roosevelt has made a most heroic attempt to integrate the Negroes into the Democratic program and in so doing has jeopardized himself politically. If Negroes cannot come to the rescue at a time like this, then the future powers that be, will feel little like risking anything for the Negro.

This column has gone all-out for Roosevelt from principle and not from conviction born of financial considerations. I get not a cent for the advocacy of Roosevelt and his policies.

Therefore in the great trial under way I am a staunch witness for Roosevelt. Even if he could do no more, I would vote for him out of sheer gratitude for the heroic attempt he made to lift the Negro from a sub-citizen status. 11-4-44

Negroes who appreciate Roosevelt can determine the great verdict in this great trial. Lets back the man who has tried so heroically to back us!

—GORDON B. HANCOCK

52a-1944

VIEWS and Reviews

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Pittsburgh Courier

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Because most people live by fictions, it is not surprising that so many of our people have come to swear by the fiction that the Roosevelt New Deal has been especially friendly and preferential toward colored people. Even so-called intellectuals like Dr. DuBois, for instance, to say nothing of hundreds of others, have repeated this nonsense, while several of our newspapers have suddenly professed to discover the same thing.

What friendship has the New Deal shown? Wherein has there been any preference shown? Was it in the field of housing? Certainly in carrying out its housing program the New Deal has shown no such preference. True, it has built housing projects for Negro occupancy as for white occupancy, which is no more than it should have done if it were not to be guilty of the rankest color discrimination. However, it also was guility of studiedly fostering housing segregation even in sections of the South where none had previously existed. In financing private housing, the HOLC has steadfastly refused to permit Negroes to buy in non-Negro neighborhoods. Where Negroes have been permitted to live in "white" projects in a few places outside the South, they have usually been restricted to one wing. This is the record and by no stretch of the imagination can it be called preferential. If you doubt it, consult the NAACP annual reports for the last 12 years.

* * *

11-4-44

The New Deal is the Democratic party and the foundation of that party is the Democratic South. What preference or friendship toward Negroes has been shown in the fight for the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law or an anti-poll tax law? The Southern Democrats were responsible for killing both of these measures. That is the record. Assuming that it was Mr. Roosevelt's will that this legislation be enacted, the fact remains that his will could not prevail over that of the party which is his master. Is there any reason to suppose that he will have any more control over his party in the future than in the past? The fact that some members of the Democratic party like Bob Wagner have fostered these measures does not disprove the fact that the party killed these measures. The record is there for anybody to read.

* * *

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Much is made of the fact that Roosevelt is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. What preferential treatment has his administration accorded Negroes in the armed services? None whatever. At the beginning of the expansion of the armed services, Negroes were barred from enlistment and many who applied were gruffly rebuffed and in some instances ousted from recruiting stations. Mr. Roosevelt had an opportunity as Commander-in-Chief to show his friendship toward Negroes by making the new Army and Navy democratic institutions. He only had to issue an order and see that it was obeyed. Did he do so? Again it is only necessary to consult the record of discrimination and segregation. It is true that Negroes are now in all branches of the military and naval services, but they are there in jim-crow units, mostly as laborers, and this, despite the fact that the Selective Service Law specifically outlawed discrimination.

* * *

11-4-44

There was widespread discrimination in the administration of the NYA, the WPA and all the other agencies, as NAACP records will show. There is no evidence of any preference shown toward Negroes in these widely-lauded public services. Even in PWA building, skilled Negro workers were arbitrarily restricted to 3 per cent on all projects, although Negroes were ten per cent of the population and needed a far greater proportion of the jobs. In wide sections of the Democratic South, Negroes could get no skilled work at all on government jobs. If otherwise, why was the NAACP always protesting against color discrimination on those jobs?

* * *

Was or is preference shown toward Negroes in government jobs? There is not a Negro in a truly supervisory position in Washington except on jim-crow projects and set-ups. The so-called Black Cabinet is merely a bunch of stooges who would have had similar jobs if Hitler had been running the government. Even the white liberals in Washington who fought for Negro integration have largely been ousted for their "radical" stand. As for the FEPC about which all the Roosevelt lovers crow, it has been absolutely helpless in the face of the Solid Democratic South, and Negroes have no different jobs in war industries there than they would have had if the FEPC had never existed. Elsewhere in the country, absolute equality in employment and upgrading of Negroes in war industries is the exception rather than the rule. Wherein has there been any preference? And when has Roosevelt ever asked Congress to pass a permanent FEPC law?

* * *

No, Roosevelt has shown Negroes no more preference or friendship than did Wilson. He has not even been able to compel equality of treatment of Negroes. Not once has he publicly scored Negro discrimination, segregation or mistreatment although he has frequently waxed vocal over the mistreatment of European minorities. This is the record. Even if he wins this election, will he be more friendly or preferential, what with greater dependence upon the Southern Democrats?

11-4-44

OPINION

We are Americans, and as Americans we would speak to America.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Page 4 **The Afro-American, August 19, 1944**

Dewey, Roosevelt and States' Rights

Afro American — Baltimore, Md.

(Can Republicans Persuade Us That Their States' Rights Program Won't Bite?)

8-19-44

Many people shivered during recent weeks while Candidate Dewey and twenty-five Republican Governors, meeting in St. Louis, discussed the areas of responsibility among Federal, State and local governments.

52a

The opinion of colored people on the question of more rights for States is clear and unanimous. They are "agin it."

Ordinarily the Democratic party is the States' rights advocate. The Solid South, a large segment of that party, believes it has a divine right to be let alone without interference from Washington.

So 8 States restrict voting by poll taxes; 26 States forbid interracial marriages; 19 States require separation of races in public schools; 14 States require jim crow on railroads, in waiting rooms; 11 States have jim crow street cars.

Where colored people in the jim crow area have won the rights to vote, to serve on juries, to secure equal schools, to get a job, to be rid of mobs, to buy a house outside accepted ghettos, or to ride in a Pullman and buy a meal in a diner, these victories have come because they have persuaded the Federal Government to overrule State policies.

Beginning of States' Rights

The question of States' rights is as old as the U.S. itself. In the first twelve years of the republic the Federalists ruled.

8-19-44

Then came Thomas Jefferson who advocated protection of States' rights. The Jefferson party and its successor, the Andrew Jackson Democrats, ran the country until 1861.

52a

The test between national and States' rights viewpoints came with the Civil War. The triumph of the Union cause and the extreme use of war powers by Abraham Lincoln as President gave the victory to the Nationalists.

A long line of Republican Presidents since then, through use and custom, has made the government at Washington stronger while the States grew weaker.

But President Roosevelt and the New Deal took the play from the Republicans. Under the plea of emergency legislation to meet a depression, afford relief, and more recently to fight a world war, the Democratic party has built up the strongest concentration of Federal authority in our history.

In fact it is the belief of some that the country has been brought to the verge of changing from forty-eight States to one single State.

Swing Termed Too Far

From the Republican point of view the Democrats have swung too far. For example, Wendell Willkie declared that Washington was now governing the country by "caprice and unlimited discretion" so that no one any longer knows his rights.

According to Mr. Willkie, the shift from State to Federal authority reflects the incapacity of the several States to deal with vital problems.

Mr. Dewey and the governors wanted to prove that the existing conflicts between local and Federal policies are costly and the result of administrative bungling. They can be restrained, he said, by putting the State governments to work and by compelling them to become efficient.

For example, the returning war veteran is to get the benefit of a Federal Act, the "G.I. Bill of Rights." BUT, as Governor Dewey sees it, the States have a responsibility to veterans also, and benefits to soldiers are to be handled through State agencies.

8-19-44

Farmers will continue to receive Federal aid, BUT through agencies in the States.

Most of us who have seen local agents in Southern States withhold Federal checks from colored farmers and government grants from colored schools have no confidence in the ability of Southern States to handle Federal funds equitably.

Governor Dewey, accustomed to dealing with chiselers and racketeers, believes he can make his States' rights program work. Certainly, he means to do just that.

Asked why he did not include the important problem of race relations in the fourteen points discussed at the Governors' conference, Mr. Dewey is reported as saying that to his mind there is no conflict between the States and the government on this question.

There is none in New York, none perhaps in the other twenty-five States represented at the Republican Governors' Conference.

But what of Mississippi and South Carolina, Georgia, and many another original Confederate State? There is conflict there, and as the campaign progresses Mr. Dewey will, we hope, tell the country, how Republicans propose to meet that issue.

Dewey Viewed As On Offensive

New York, N.Y.

Julius J. Adams, Amsterdam News Writer, Gives Other Sidelights On Transcontinental Train Trip

Amsterdam News 9-23-44

By JULIUS J. ADAMS

ENROUTE WITH GOVERNOR DEWEY—Unlike his three immediate predecessors who sought to beat Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency of the United States, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, definitely has the offensive. He has indicted the President and the New Deal and he is systematically going about the task of proving his case as a prelude to conviction.

Julius J. Adams

All along the way on this trip, the Governor has been tearing into the Party of Roosevelt. He has been making headway.

Herbert Hoover in 1932, in the midst of the depression was unable to convince the people; Alfred M. Landon, in 1936, a weak candidate, was forced to battle against the abstraction, Hooverism, and Wendell L. Willkie, in 1940 not only was running without the earnest support of the Party machinery, but was kept busy trying to answer the charges of the Democrats that the Republicans were bankrupt and could not be trusted. Dewey is taking the battle to the old man, and he is getting in some good socks.

Events of the past few years have proved that the Republicans still have fight left in them, there being 26 States in the Union now with Republican administrations where there were only eight in 1936. Dewey is using this to good advantage.

I had a long talk with Westbrook Pegler Wednesday afternoon. The rangy beetle-browed columnist is much more pleasant than his critics would have the public believe. If a person can gain any knowledge of another in an hour's conversation, I'd say Pegler is not as mean as people might think. I am convinced he sincerely believes in the rightness of things for which he fights. One thing is certain, Westbrook Pegler knows the score in America.

At Valentine, Nebraska, typical Western town, with cows, cowboys and Indians, the Governor's Party remained 48 hours. There the Governor gave the press the news about the Maine elections. He was jubilant. Saw in the returns a favorable omen for things to come next November.

Former Gov. Samuel R. McKelvie's By the Way ranch, miles out of town furnished the setting for a big barbecue Tuesday. It was not the kind that goes wheeling around on a rotissiere. The boned beef was buried in the ground, cooked over-night, and was it delicious.

About three Negro families, one of them Mr. and Mrs. Sims, live in Valentine. The Simses own the leading cleaning and pressing establishment in the town.

At the rodeo in Valentine, an Indian, Felix Left Hand Bull, interpreted a lengthy speech which another Indian had made in the native language. To the amazement of everyone, it simply said, "Dewey all right."

Don't worry too much about seeing a rodeo in its original locale. Those in Madison Square Garden are just as good. The Governor declined to be inducted into the Sioux tribe, but accepted a membership in the Plum Creekers, an orgnization of hardy westerners, set up to keep order in their community.

The Sheridan Inn, Sheridan, Wyo., was built by Buffalo Bill, the original, and our press room was the Buffalo Bill Room.

The Sheridan chamber of commerce matched Valentine by arranging a steak luncheon for the press at the ranch of Col. Goelet Gallatin, 12 miles out of town at the foot of the Big Horn Mountains. The food was fine, but the beauty of the setting was indescribable.

From Des Moines to Billings, Montana, Negroes were scarce as the proverbial hen's teeth, but all through this country the people seem neither surprised or awed by Negroes. If you attend to your business, they attend to theirs. If you have money to spend, and they have what you want to buy, a deal is made.

Even for one who lives in democratic New York this section is a revelation. There is freedom out here.

If ever any of this land is subdivided and you get a chance to buy a piece, don't miss it. Out here a guy should live to be 120 years old, before needing a dentist.

Governor Dewey's pledge to do something about the Indian situation should certainly be welcomed by the tribes. It is a disgrace the way they are treated, if all reports one hears are even partially true.

We have changed diners several times, but have the same Pullman porters.

These sophisticated Washington and New York correspondents are like a group of young boys out in this western country. They don't feel so smart and all-wise among these plain Americans who understand us in the East, but who are not quite understood by us, who often think of them as needing help.

In the area through which the Governor traveled after leaving Des Moines, there are very few Negroes. In Valentine, Nebraska, where the party stayed overnight, the town has only three Negro families.

Sheridan, Wyoming, stamping ground of Buffalo Bill, Jesse James and his clan, and other colorful figures of the old west, has only about 45 Negroes.

These towns, like others out here have not quite lost all the glamor of the early days. Here the high heel boots, the wide-brimmed hats and the occasional Indian, lurking furtively in the shadows, saying nothing, but looking ominous still present the familiar picture of the west of the story book.

Out here Custer made his last stand against the Indians, his entire outfit having been massacred. Here the hardy pioneers carved out a civilization that is still sturdy and vigorous.

In Billings, Mont., the Negro population is somewhat larger than in the other towns in Nebraska and Wyoming, but there is only a handful, and they cut very little figure in the vote.

Most of the discussions the Governor has had in these parts have been on problems affecting cattle men, lumber men, sugar beet growers and miners. Activities of CIO around Butte and Little Falls will have considerable affect on the outcome of the election in November. But Montana political and labor leaders believe a sufficient number of A. F. of L. men will vote for Dewey to swing the election. This is predicated on the fact that Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for President who made two speeches in the Montana recently, will chop heavily into the CIO vote for Roosevelt.

There have been Negroes on several of the delegations Governor Dewey's has conferred with since he left New York, and on three occasions he talked with delegations made up exclusively of representatives of Negro organizations. He will talk with other such Negro groups before the tour ends.

New Times

Worker N.Y., N.Y. 11-19-44

by Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

THE spectacular political maturity of the Negro people in the elections—they voted from 2 to 1 to 8 to 1 for President Roosevelt—registered not only the advanced stage of their alliance with the labor movement, particularly with the CIO. It indicated the high level of their thinking about their own deep and pressing problems.

First, it showed that they were thinking more in terms of the solution of these problems, and that merely shouting about them, however recklessly, without solving them and with no perspective of solving them, leaves the Negro people pretty cold. Secondly, it showed that the Negro people conceive of the solution of their problem as a part of the total picture of winning victory and establishing a secure, better world. For Franklin D. Roosevelt is one of the world leaders of the United Nations; and because of this, he has been the architect of historic and fundamental gains in the status of Negroes, and other common people here and elsewhere.

Dewey's Negro emissaries — although few and far between—shouted their heads off about discrimination, particularly in the armed forces, but it didn't make much impression. Negroes and the great majority of their leaders of all political persuasions, while deeply concerned about Army Jimcrow, saw through the demagogy to the sinister reaction concealed by Mr. Dewey's youthful, untired face.

Basic grievances of the Negro people accumulated over the years are still unsatisfactorily solved even under the Roosevelt administration. But the Negroes saw the concrete record of the President against discrimination. They understood that only through the coalition of labor, themselves and other democratic forces, symbolized by the President, would the Jimcrow system be outlawed. They joined with the majority of the nation to give the President a mandate to that effect. It will be fulfilled if the President's hand is strengthened with an even broader movement in support of his policies.

* * *

WOULD that this crystal clarity of the Negro people had penetrated into every recess of their leadership and knocked the confusion and muddle-headedness out of their minds—especially since one or two of these leaders tried to influence the Negroes with their own mental confusion.

For example, a sorry and tragic spectacle was A. Phillip Randolph. He could not bring himself to support any candidate whatsoever. Just before Nov. 7, he issued a statement that he was supporting neither Dewey, nor Roosevelt, nor Norman Thomas (although he is a Thomas "Socialist"). Give him full credit for not supporting the fifth column propagandist Norman Thomas; even if he had it would have been just one more vote for Thomas. But the credit is then cancelled out by his false neutrality between Roosevelt and Dewey—a "neutrality" which aided Dewey.

Mr. Randolph's reasoning was that he favors a permanent FEPC, that is, if you oppose job discrimination, you shouldn't have voted in the elections. What compound confusion! Apparently, this so-called reason was only for the purpose of raising political cowardice up to the level of principle.

Here were the Negro people and the whole nation fighting for their lives in the most crucial election of our history, deciding the fate of human beings for generations to come, and Mr. Randolph, the leader, is off in a corner sulking and disfranchising himself. In effect, his advice was that Negroes should have isolated themselves and had nothing to do with the "nasty" elections. They should have accepted any old candidate, (even Dewey!)—handed down to them, instead of trying to determine, to some extent, who and what they would get.

No Time for Fearful Leadership!

* * *

MR. ROOSEVELT set up the FEPC, upheld it in Philadelphia with the armed forces and defied the "white supremacy" section of his own party by campaigning for it. But Mr. Randolph advised the Negroes, in effect, not to eat the bread of the FEPC, because it wasn't sliced with the knife he personally invented. The first requisite of a leader is to lead—to point the correct path to the people. Mr. Randolph revealed an utter bankruptcy, an inability to take a position in the face of the biggest war crisis ever confronting labor, the Negro and the nation.

Negro voters, however declared themselves. They did a grand job on election day for a permanent FEPC, full employment and for other campaign issues in which Mr. Randolph displayed no apparent interest. He should thank the Negro people for rejecting his example in the elections. The [illegible] to which Mr. Randolph has come is the logical consequence of his political imprisonment by the professional factionalist and red-baiter David Dubinsky who has now drawn him into the "Liberal" Party to disrupt the united Negro and progressive movement.

Doesn't Mr. Randolph understand the profound changes that are taking place in the world about him—changes that are favorably affecting the whole course of the Negro liberation struggle? Or is he deliberately placing his partisan prejudices above the unity and general good of the people? Piddling little picket lines—played up by PM and the Post for their own factional ends—lead to nowhere, when one has no effective program and is unwilling to stand up and be counted in a crisis that determines everybody's future. For the big postwar task of jobs, we shall need not fearful leadership, but bold champions, who will not falter in crises and who place nothing above the unity needed for success.

52a-1944

Post-War Negro Freedom

People's Voice — New york, N. Y.

THOSE NEGRO NEWSPAPERS which now scoff at the Dumbarton Oaks peace and security agreements are betraying the best interests of the Negro people. In their partisan zeal to help elect candidate Dewey, they are helping to destroy the very foundations of the only kind of post-war world in which the Negro people can hope to move forward to greater freedom.

10-21-44

If this war is followed by mass unemployment and distress for the population as a whole, the wartime gains of the Negro people will be destroyed in the on-rush of post-war reaction, no matter who is elected President. And if a third world war comes to give American pro-fascists and imperialists their chance to emerge into dominance, the Negro people will be pushed back into a slavery far worse than our forefathers ever knew.

Not only is this true of the Negro in America; it is equally true of the Negro and all other oppressed peoples in Africa and in other parts of the colonial world. In a world of enduring peace and expanding prosperity, their progressive liberation is not only possible; it is highly probable. But without such a world, there is no hope for the destruction of colonial exploitation.

The key to enduring peace and security is the further consolidation of that Anglo-Soviet-American-Chinese coalition which is now hastening victory in war and which alone has the power to enforce security and peace. This is the solid foundation upon which any broader world peace organization must rest.

10-21-44

At Dumbarton Oaks, the allied nations demonstrated not only their power, but also their **will** to solve the basic problems of post-war peace and security. They met in the spirit of the Teheran agreements; they resolved many (not all) vexing issues; and they laid the necessary basis for actually achieving in peace those progressive goals for which the "little people" of the world continue to struggle.

We should never forget that what happens to the Negro people after this war will be decisively determined by our country's relations to the rest of the world.

Our victories in this people's war have made it entirely possible to defeat the Negro-haters, labor-baiters, anti-Semites and imperialists in the peace to come—if the post-war world is one of enduring peace and security. We can make it so, and our most urgent step is to guarantee that President Roosevelt's enlightened foreign policy continues to guide our nation after November 7.

STATE RIGHTERS IN SESSION

Argus — St. Louis, MO.

We were interested in the conference of twenty-six governors held in St. Louis last week. 8-11-44

According to reports, these governors wracked their brains, some of them for eighteen hours a day, trying to find an issue to go before the people in the hope of winning the election for the Republican victory in November. Sad to say, when they had finished, nothing new had been presented and they had found nothing new with respect to operating this government that had not already been considered in President Roosevelt's plan.

In their discussion we note, according to press reports, they had this to say respecting state rights, "We would end the difference between the United States and states rights." We would like to know where would they start to end these differences? We are greatly concerned about this point because everybody knows that the greatest differences between the United States government and the states rights are found in the South over the race issue. Are these governors ready and willing to turn this matter over to the states to settle? Judging from the announced plank in the Republican national platform adopted at the Chicago convention, the method that it would use in settling some of the vital issues would be by a constitutional amendment which, of course, would take a quarter or a half century to accomplish them.

8-11-44

Following this line of procedure it looks to us as though the Republicans this year are playing with the rights of the Negroes as never before. In reality, they are playing with the rights of the American people who have for many years been in the hands of the few state righters of the bourbon South. And, again we ask, what would these Republicans do respecting the educational and social gains that have been made under the present administration which the South has fought tooth and nail under the guise of state rights? Is Mr. Dewey willing to return all of these matters to the states? Evidently he is, or he has played a double role during this convention. The states, under the guise of state rights, say they have the right to lynch as many Negroes as their prejudiced feelings may suggest. What does Mr. Dewey say about that? The state righters have cursed the United States Supreme Court because that tribunal said that the Negroes had a right to vote in all primary elections. What does Mr. Dewey and the twenty-six governors say about that?

These Republican governors charge that the present labor policies of the United States government promotes strife. This statement can mean nothing more or nothing less than a blow below the belt against the Fair Employment Practice Committee, notwithstanding what the party platform said at the Chicago convention. 8-11-44

The truth of the matter is, we would like to know what Forrest C. Donnell, Governor of Missouri, has to say on these matters. He is now a candidate for election to the United States Senate. What do you say, Mr. Donnell?

And, finally, if the state righters did not decide that the government had a right to interfere in the conduct of state affairs, regardless to who might be hurt—even the government itself—then we say the conference was meaningless, deceptive, and a fraud upon the people.

We Are For Roosevelt

Age — New york, N. Y.

-- AN EDITORIAL --

10-14-44

Last week, The New York Age recommended unreservedly to its readers and friends the reelection of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States. The announcement marked a radical departure from nearly 60 years of political tradition for, with but one notable exception, The New York Age has been known as a consistent, ardent supporter of the Republican Presidential candidates.

Surprise at the announcement was expressed in many quarters, because there were those who apparently labored under the delusion that The New York Age was so blindly Republican that it would not see Thomas E. Dewey is being backed by the same Herbert Hoover and the same die-hards who at election time masquerade as our friends but in reality are our enemies.

In this very important Presidential campaign, the general welfare of the United States and the promotion of the best interests of its Negro citizens, are our chief interests. Measured by any yard-stick, the performance of President Roosevelt is so superior to that of Governor Dewey that Negroes, concerned with consolidating the gains they have made, can ill afford to trust their future to the Republican candidate whose espousal of the doctrine of States' Rights aligns him with the most vicious elements coming out of the South — the lynchocrats, poll taxers and slavocrats. 10-14-44

President Roosevelt dares to face these enemies of progress and democracy by his every act. Recent utterances of the President on the matter of poll taxes and education and his quick action in causing the War Department to abandon its plan to segregate the returning battle-weary GIs, show that conclusively.

Speaking on voting, the President said:

"It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various states; and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

"The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed — without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole . . . The free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land."

Speaking on education, the President said:

"I believe that the Federal government should render financial aid where it is needed, and only where it is needed — in communities where farming does not pay, where land values have depreciated through erosion or through flood or drought, where industries have moved away, where transport facilities are inadequate or where electricity is unavailable for power and light . . . It must purely and simply provide the guarantee that this country is great enough to give to all its children the right to a free education." 10-14-44

Negroes, we repeat, have made too much progress in their fight for first-class citizenship under President Roosevelt to trust the future to Thomas E. Dewey. On the basis of performance—not on the basis of promises—of the two Presidential candidates, **The New York Age enthusiastically urges voters to reelect President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.**

WHERE THE DEFENDER STANDS ON THE ELECTION

Defender - Chicago, Ill.

Some of the Chicago Defender's constituents, the vast audience of our readers from coast to coast whom we like to call the Defender family, have been loyal supporters since this newspaper was founded in 1905 by Robert S. Abbott. Others are relative newcomers — intelligent, alert, well-educated, youthful readers who have joined the Defender family in more recent years. Our affection for the younger generation of readers is no less than for the old timers. 9-2-44

From both of these groups have come bitter complaints in recent weeks.

In a nutshell, the grievance comes down to this:

"Exactly where does the Defender stand in this 1944 political campaign?"

The older folks, traditional Republicans who remember still that Lincoln freed the slaves and that the Defender in the past has been pro-Republican more than pro-Democrat, want to know why we haven't hopped on the Dewey bandwagon.

On the other the aggressive youth, brought up through the trying days of depression when the New Deal was their only salvation, are plumping for an immediate endorsement of President Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Certainly neither the Defender nor the Negro people can afford an ivory tower, "plague-on-both-your-houses," hands-off attitude in this fateful election as a result of the cynical, roughshod handling Negro America got at both conventions. 9-2-44

We must take a stand, a partisan stand in the interest of full freedom and first class citizenship for the Negro.

It is with that in mind that the Defender has chosen to be slow but sure in this political campaign, to study with the utmost care not the shoddy, slick party promises whether encompassed in a platform or pompous speeches but the actual accomplishments of the nominees, the men who carry the ball for these expansive promises.

Deeds and not words is what we are interested in.

The Defender has attempted to estimate the men in this campaign in its editorials and news columns with a neutral, fair-minded approach to both sides.

We have been and still remain politically independent.

We have had occasion to praise and condemn both parties and if at times we have been more critical of one than the other it has been purely unintentional.

Because of this, we have been the target of attack from both sides. Bitter letters of condemnation have accused us of everything from "pussy-footing" to "partisanship." 9-2-44

The Defender on its part refuses to be swayed by these broadsides, by tempting offers of political spoils, or by outright bids of tempting "graft."

It has been our belief that the highest service we can render both our race and our nation in these critical war days is to inform the people, to give them the undistorted, truthful, honest facts and let them decide for themselves. We have faith in the people's judgment.

We will continue to present the men and issues without regard for petty politics but only in our belief in the wisdom of the common man.

This does not preclude our analysis of the campaign issues as we see them and our endorsement of men and principles rather than political parties.

Two more months remain before election day. Within coming weeks we will take our stand — a stand based on what both sides did rather than said before and after the Chicago conventions. 9-2-44

It will follow our position stated in a front page editorial on "The Democratic Convention" a month ago:

"What both parties actually do, rather than promise, will be our criterion for political choices."

Dewey Aides State Views On Election

N.Y. Amsterdam News
N.Y.
11-18-44

Attitudes Differ But All Pledge Support in Battle to Win War

By HARRY McALPIN

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—A belief that the vote in the presidential election forecasts a new political alignment, with labor a real factor, and with Negroes aligned with labor; pledges of wholehearted and unqualified support of the President; and acceptance of the will of the majority were attitudes expressed by the publishers of five of the leading weekly papers which supported Thomas E. Dewey in the recent campaign, according to statements made to the NNPA this week.

W. O. Walker, of the Cleveland Call-Post, declared: "The American people by their vote last Tuesday laid the foundation for a new political alignment. Labor has emerged as a real factor. Our political parties of the future will be Labor and Conservative. The Negro in that election aligned himself with labor."

No Appeal From Verdict—Lewis

Ira F. Lewis, president of the Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company, said: "There can be no appeal from the verdict of the American people as evidenced by their majority vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt to be President of the United States for the next four years.

"Mr. Roosevelt was not my candidate. But he is my President. In a country founded and based on the idea that the will of the majority shall prevail, there is nothing for any good American to do, but to wholeheartedly support the President. But I am personally, however, unalterably opposed to the idea of perpetuating any individual or any party in control of the government of the United States. I believe that such a practice defeats the very fine ideals on which this government was founded.

"I will always believe that it is a part of wisdom to have the courage of one's convictions. To lack courage is worse than lacking vision. The President will have my unqualified support.

Negro Played Part—C. B. Powell

C. P. Powell, publisher of the N. Y. Amsterdam News, and assistant publicity director of the Republican National Committee, said: "The people of America have spoken in this Presidential election and all good Americans will obey their mandate by wholeheartedly supporting the President for a successful and speedy termination of the war and permanent peace. It was a pleasure to have worked in this present campaign. For the first time in national elections, the jimcrow set-up has been tabooed in both major parties and the Negro has played his part with intelligence, dignity, and determination, with the result that the wheels for economic, political and social gains for the Negro people are already set into motion."

E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the Philadelphia Tribune, declared: "Roosevelt's victory proves that the majority of voters believe that he is the best person to guide the ship of state during these perilous times. With the working majority in both houses of Congress, the President has the duty and the responsibility to abolish second class citizenship in America. This is second only to the winning of the war. Those who are sincere in this belief will work for and with him when he proves faithful and against him when he fails to act fearlessly to end discrimination in America."

Dewey Campaign A-1

Carl Murphy of the Afro-American Newspapers said: "Dewey made an A-1 campaign. Too many voters believe FDR indispensable to win the war."

No statements were received from from C. A. Franklin, publisher of the Kansas City Call, nor from N. A. Sweets, publisher of the St. Louis American, both of which supported Dewey.

Meanwhile reaction of Republican leaders in Washington to the landslide electoral vote victory of President Roosevelt struck a note of sportsmanship and unity for the most part in statements given the NNPA last week.

Judge W. C. Hueston, educational director of the Elks, a former judge in Gary, Ind., and a Republican campaigner, said: "I can find no fault with Mr. Roosevelt. The only fault I could find, as I said during the campaign, was with the crowd he was operating with from the South. I was not certain whether he could overcome those who were operating with him. He was retarded from doing what he might have done because of the committee chairmanships of the Bourbons from the South. Mr. Roosevelt is all right, and it does not disturb me at all that he is President."

Big Vote Worthy Tribute

Dean George A. Parker, of Terrell Law School, an alternate delegate from the District of Columbia to the Republican National Convention in June, stated: :The large popular vote received by Gov. Dewey is a worthy tribute to his courage, ability and statesmanship.

"The re-election of President Roosevelt is the greatest honor ever accorded an American public servant. In a democracy like ours, the will of the majority freely expressed at the polls must be accepted by all who believe in its fundamental principles. America under Roosevelt will continue its fight for victory, peace and the general welfare of all of its citizens regardless of race, religion or color."

Perry W. Howard, long-time Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, a member of the law firm of Cobb, Howard & Hayes, here, declared: "If others can make it with Truman, I am perfectly willing to try it myself. I want to be sure that all those who supported Truman will be under his jurisdiction."

Negro Hogtied to the New Deal

11-18-44

Thurman L. Dodson, prominent attorney and Republican, said: "The distressing thing to me is how the Negro has become hogtied to the New Deal

52a-1944

The Defender has asked prominent ~~leaders~~ of both parties to contribute to this Presidential Battle Page. The Defender has not edited or changed the

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Roosevelt:

10-28-44

By SIDNEY HILLMAN

The Negro in 1944 has a job to do—a job which he shares with every other American citizen, of voting age. That job is to select on November 7 the President and the Congress which will determine the foreign and domestic policies of this nation for the next four years.

An intelligent selection of this leadership can only be made on the basis of the records of the candidates and the parties which they represent. It is the responsibility of every citizen, regardless of political affiliation, to know the men and women who seek their votes and the measures for which they stand. 10-28-44

In the final analysis, each voter will cast his ballot for the candidate who, he believes, will serve the welfare of the nation best and protect most effectively the particular interest of the individual voter.

Special Problems

The Negro people of America are confronted with certain special problems which are vital issues to them in this election. Solution of these problems, however, will not only advance the cause of the Negro, but will also contribute to the welfare of the nation.

There is no conflict between the objectives of the Negro and those of the nation. What is good for the Negro is good for the nation. Likewise, what's good for the country is good for the Negro.

In a recent address at the Madison Square Garden, Vice-President Wallace said that the two issues of the campaign are peace and jobs. Certainly the Negro is as interested as any other citizen in these issues. Accepting these as the basic issues of the campaign, it remains only to determine who can best devise a lasting, liberal, domestic peace and who can best make sure there are jobs for everyone.

10-28-44

FDR's Qualifications

It is clear that by training and experience, President Roosevelt is the best qualified candidate to bring the war to a speedy and victorious end, and to establish terms of settlement which will make possible an enduring peace.

He has won the confidence of not only the American people, but of the leaders and the peoples of the nations allied with us in this crusade to exterminate fascism. His leadership in this field is unchallenged by persons familiar with foreign affairs. It is for this reason that many individuals, who are normally Republicans, are supporting President Roosevelt for reelection.

No segment of our population is more aware of the need for jobs than the Negro. The Political Action Committee has consistently supported the Fair Employment Practice Committee, established by President Roosevelt, and is now actively seeking to have legislation enacted to make this committee permanent. 10-28-44

We realize, however, that the effectiveness of this committee can be measured only in terms of the total employment picture. Obviously, if we are to return to another Hoover depression, such a committee can exercise only a limited influence. On the other hand, if we are to enter into a period of stable, full employment, we can look forward to increasing industrial opportunities for Negroes, to their upgrading from unskilled to semi-skilled and skilled jobs, to their acceptance in new industries and finally to their integration into the industrial life of the nation.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and the Republicans say that they are in favor of a Fair Employment Practice Committee. Yet Governor Dewey scuttled a bill before the New York State Legislature which would have established such an agency for that state.

At the same time, many Republicans were joining with southern reactionaries in an effort to kill FEPC in Congress. How completely Roosevelt believes in this committee was amply demonstrated this summer when he called out troops to enforce the committee's order to upgrade Negro transit workers in Philadelphia. Actions speak louder than words.

10-28-44

The FEPC is an example of the complete merger of the special interests of the Negro with the welfare of the nation. Through this agency the skill and muscle of Negro workers have been made available to produce the arms, munitions and other materiel urgently needed for the war. So it is in all fields: in education, in public health, in housing, in social welfare. The advancement of the Negro in these fields contributes to the advancement of the nation. The Negro can only advance as the nation advances.

States Rights Stand

Dewey and his Republican supporters have cloaked themselves in the outmoded garb of States Rights. They would turn over to the states, all measures intended to improve the status of the common man.

It is evident what this could mean to Negro workers in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and other southern states. These states have shown neither the ability nor the desire to initiate a broad program of social reform for either Negro or white citizens.

In such a traditional field as public education some of these states spend ten times as much for the education of a white child as for a Negro child. There is no reason to believe that they would do otherwise if they had complete control of public housing, social security, labor relations and other legislation. 10-28-44

On the basis of the record, and in self-interest as well as in the interest in the nation, Negroes should support the President and vote for those progressive candidates for Congress who can be depended upon to assist him in implementing his foreign and domestic policies.

Claim votes stolen from Negro S. C. senatorial candidate

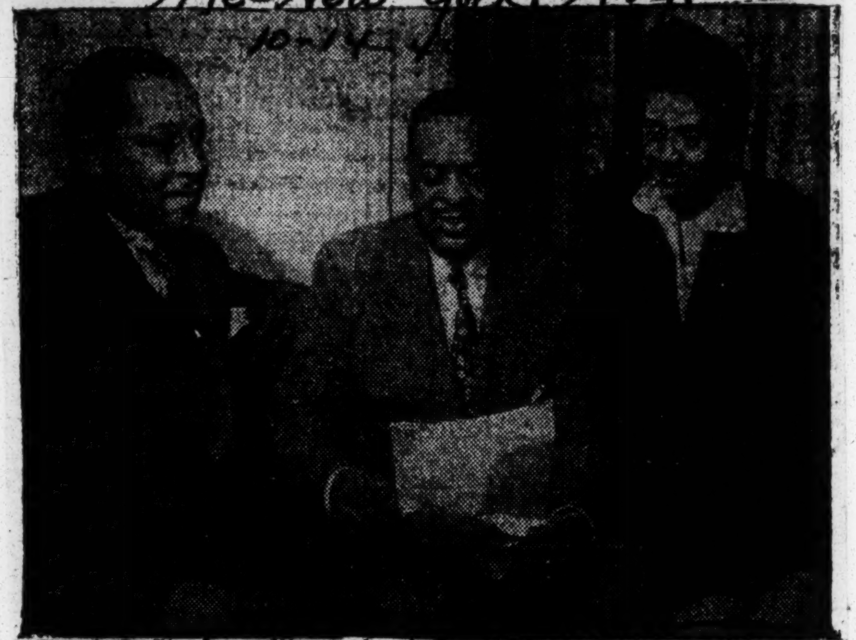
Tribune—Los Angeles, 11-27-44 Calif.

COLUMBIA, S. C.— Charges that election judges, on orders of the white Democratic party "stole" votes that legally belonged to Osceola McKaine, first Negro to run for the U. S. Senate on a Democratic ticket, were made here by John H. McCray, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic party on whose ticket McKaine ran in opposition to Governor Olin D. Johnson. 11-27-44

"Where I voted," McCray, who is a Negro, declared, "the woman simply handed me the straight white Democratic ticket, without first asking what ticket I wanted. The fact that she did violates the law as voters are required to choose their own ballots."

Louisville Publisher Backs Pres. Roosevelt

Age—New York, N.Y.



10-14-4

Frank L. Stanley, editor and publisher of the Louisville Defender, is shown above with Congressman William L. Dawson and Mrs. Jeanette Welch Brown at the Democratic Headquarters in the Hotel Biltmore in New York last week. Congressman Dawson is reading a statement issued by Mr. Stanley in support of the re-election of President Roosevelt.

'Canada' Lee Tells Why He Is For FDR's Re-Election

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

10-14-44

By CANADA LEE

One of the grand things about a democracy is that not only can a man think as he please, but he's free to express his thoughts and he can share other people's thoughts and ideas and memories. None of us is smart enough to know everything, but all of us—thinking together and putting together all the facts we can assemble—can come to have something that adds up to Knowledge.

It's because of this knowledge that we are determined Roosevelt must be re-elected President of the United States — knowledge that goes way back to stomachs filled with nothing but fear and walking in the rain looking for a job, seeing your folks losing the money they had skimped and slaved to save. I remember my dad couldn't believe it. Money in the bank was safe—like being sure of heaven! Those were bad days for everybody—but it did seem like Negroes got the worst of it. 10-14-44

The Changes

And then a lot of things began to happen. You remember. And I doubt whether many people throughout the country connected the changes to "politics." Politics were for the bosses "downtown" and the "big shots" in Washington. But even then we heard about Franklin D. Roosevelt. Negroes liked the name, anyhow.

Do you suppose Negroes can forget what the Federal Theatre (to mention just one project) meant to them in every large city? They quickly recognized a chance to do something that would be a credit to them. Think what it meant when Orson Welles planned and staged "Macbeth" in the Harlem Unit of the Federal Theatre. The recognition and praise from the press! Then "Haiti"—Harlemites playing downtown and "Macbeth" setting out for a tour acros the country. I think about that now as the press notices come back to New York on Paul Robeson in "Othello." And do you remember the "Swing Mikado" produced by the Chicago Federal Theatre and brought to New York? Had it not been for the "Swing Mikado" I doubt very much that there would today be a "Carmen Jones." 10-14-44

People in the theatre know that everybody must pull together. They know that the greatest star must have the full support and complete cooperation of every member of the cast. They know that President Roosevelt can lead us to complete Victory and secure for us a lasting peace only if we march solidly behind him.

The stage has always been a powerful organ of expression. Today young actors and writers of the stage have organized "Stage for Action" in order to bring the issues of this campaign before large masses of people. Right now emphasis is on registration. Norman Corwin, Ben Hecht, Edward Chodorov are among those contributing scripts for Roosevelt's re-election.

People in the theatre have good memories — that's why they want Roosevelt.

And I can't spend lots of time trying to analyze platforms, nor bolster up faith on promises. Platforms at best are like manuscripts. Everybody in the theatre knows that a play isn't a play and can't be judged until it gets on the boards. There's always lots of changes to be made and fixing to be done during rehearsals. 10-14-44

Well, we're not in a rehearsal now. The whole world is looking towards this nation accepting our President as one of the three leaders towards Victory over the enemies of mankind, as a towering figure of hope for Justice and Peace for all men. As I see it, this is no time for "try-outs!"

I'm voting for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Negroes Will Lose Gains If GOP Wins--Howard Fast

Defender—Chicago, Ill.

10-14-44

(Defender New York Bureau)

NEW YORK — Howard Fast, author of "Freedom

Road," best-selling historical novel of Reconstruction, this week predicted that a Dewey-sponsored depression would mean that the American Negro will lose all he has gained.

In an exclusive statement for The Defender he said: "There are no two ways about it! If the Negro is to hope, if he is to look forward to a better life, if he is to fight on for economic and social equality, then he must vote for Roosevelt! Only as the country advances can he advance. And the country will not advance under Dewey.

"It is not a question of party or prejudice; it is a question of life and death.

10-14-44

"For in a Dewey-sponsored depression—and sure as God there will be one if the Republicans win—the Negro would lose all he has gained, be ground down, and become once again the first victim of poverty and hunger."

52

Ministers, Educators Kept Quiet

Informer—Houston Texas

11-18-44

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA)—Monday-morning quarterbacking on the election has brought into open discussion here the depressing silence maintained through the presidential election campaign by the men who are presumably the leaders of the people—ministers and educators, particularly college presidents.

52a

The "hot stove league" is wondering what happened to the voices of Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard university, Dr. Charles Wesley of Wilberforce, Dr. James A. Davis of West Virginia State, Dr. Luther Foster of Virginia State, Dr. D.O. W. Holmes of Morgan State, Dr. F.D. Patterson of Tuskegee, Dr. James E. Shepard of North Carolina State, Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta university, Dr. J.B. Brawley of Clark university, Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, Forrester Washington of the Atlanta School of Social Work. Dr. David D. Jones of Bennett, Albert W. Dent of Dillard, etc.

11-18-44

52a

Of the bishops, professed leaders of the people, only two were outspoken in the campangn. Bishop R. R. Wright came out for Roosevelt, while Bishop Simms supported Dewey. Dr. Jemison, head of the Baptists, permitted himself to be quoted in a Republican advertisement as favoring Dewey. But for the most part, the clergy maintained its silence.

Views are a "dime a dozen" as to whether this was good or bad for the candidates and the public.

52a

Dewey 'Double-Crossed' Negro People: Ickes

Daily Worker—New York, N.Y.

11-2-44

Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes told a cheering audience at Harlem's Golden Gate auditorium last night that Gov. Dewey had "double-crossed" the Negro people by junking anti-discrimination legislation, and now seeks election under the pretense that he'll enact laws as President which he "slyly evaded" while Governor.

Harold L. Ickes

Blunt as ever, Ickes denounced by name two men in the Dewey camp, both "extremely close" to the Governor, for open activity against Negroes. They are Leonard C. Reid, Dewey's cousin and close political associate, and Fred R. Zimmerman, the GOP nominee's main supporter in the defeat of Wendell Willkie in Wisconsin.

52a

Reid, who says he represents Dewey's viewpoint in the Middle West, was revealed by the Chicago Defender as a signer of a restrictive covenant barring Negro residents from the Drexel-Hyde Park area of Chicago, Ickes declared.

Zimmerman has been charged with being "head of the America First organization in Wisconsin and a member of the Ku Klux Klan," he added.

11-2-44

WAGNER HEARD

Senator Robert F. Wagner, another speaker at the rally, which was held under Democratic Party auspices, described his own years of campaigning for the abolition of Jim Crow, the polltax and lynching and pledged a new fight in the Senate to make constitutional rights a reality for all minorities. Wagner paid tribute to the war records of Negroes in service and in industry and called for legislation making the Fair Employment Practices Committee permanent.

"I am determined that Negro workers must have the same chance for a job at the same pay as any other worker with the same amount of skill," Wagner asserted.

11-2-44

Ickes, always colorful, vigorous and to the point, hit hard as he compared Roosevelt administration achievements on the Negro question with the Republican record.

He was particularly caustic in dealing with Dewey's record.

RECORD ON FEPC

Ickes charged that Dewey forced the tabling of a bill which would have established a New York FEPC because his advisors feared he would lose the support of "lily white Republican delegates" at the Republican national convention.

Recalling how eight members of the advisory committee that recommended the state FEPC quit in disgust when, instead of the law, Dewey provided only a proposal for further study, Ickes quoted from City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., by way of comment. He quoted Davis as saying:

11-2-44

"Dewey, in trying to kill this measure is following the policy of his appeasement of poll tax reaction which he demonstrated in sending the Negro George Burrows, back to Rankin justice in Mississippi. Dewey will sacrifice every shred of the principles of equality and democracy if he can only get the key to the White House, but he shall not pass."

RECORD IN ARMED FORCES

In contrast, Ickes cited Roosevelt's deeds. When Roosevelt, he said, took office after 12 years of Republican rule, he found an Army and Navy "steeped in racial discrimination up and down the line," he said.

"It was President Hoover, Gov. Dewey's political godfather, who Jimcrowed Negro gold star mothers, sending them to visit their sons' graves in France on a cattle boat."

11-2-44

Under Roosevelt, Ickes said, Negro officers were commissioned for the first time in the Navy; Negroes were admitted into the Marines, a Negro general was named and Negro nurses are serving in the Army on an equal foting with white nurses.

Negro Leaders Hit Vote Smear

Daily Worker—New York N.Y.

11-2-44

Prominent figures of the Negro community reported yesterday that Dewey's election fraud expert, William B. Herlands, lied in his wholesale charges of "conspiracy to violate the election law."

Herlands last Monday declared that the American Labor Party and the Teachers Union had enabled "illiterate persons to obtain literacy certificates fraudulently."

"It's a lie."

This blunt retort was made by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who said he strongly doubted whether any complaints of fraud had been filed in Harlem.

52a

Captain Hugh Mulzac, Negro master of the Liberty Ship Booker T. Washington, said voters must not allow the present anti-ALP "smear-campaign" to stop them from pulling down the levers in Row C, the ALP line on the voting machine.

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., said:

"I am going to vote for Roosevelt, Truman, Wagner and Powell on Row C, the ALP line. I urge all my fellow-citizens to do likewise."

Davis said that the Herlands "maneuver" was an attempt both to frighten first voters away from the polls and to weaken the effectiveness of the ALP.

The Rev. Charles Y. Trigg, minister of the Salem M. E. Church, Seventh Ave. and 129 St., characterized the Herlands attack as a "desperate attempt to save a lost cause," adding that "smearing" was the last resort of the beaten reactionary.

11-2-44

Charles A. Collins, vice-chairman of the State ALP and executive secretary of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, defended "the most important single contribution to the record-breaking registration" had been made by New York City's teachers.

"They, on their own time, set up classes in neighborhoods and in CIO and AFL union halls," Collins said, "helping new voters to overcome their fears, to pass the test and to become eligible, for the first time, to assume political responsibilities as citizens."

He felt sure, he declared, that "attempts to intimidate new voters" will not succeed.

Big Pro-GOP Papers Bar Columns For Roosevelt

Defender—Chicago, Ill.

By RICHARD DURHAM

Wholesale revolt of militant Negro writers against their Republican-dictated newspapers swept the Negro press this week.

11-4-44

Fighting lock, stock and barrel sellouts to the Dewey-Bricker ticket, outspoken Negro columnists ripped the GOP stranglehold and declared themselves for Roosevelt.

52

Gagged, censored and denied the right to tell the truth about presidential candidates, the following nationally known leaders struck against GOP dictatorship:

1. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, internationally famous scholar and historian, quit the New York Amsterdam News after its publisher "distorted" and scrapped material in his columns which favored the re-election of President Roosevelt.

2. Roy Wilkins, assistant NAACP secretary and Amsterdam News columnist charged the GOP paper with leaving out his columns since June 10 and stated: "It is a sad commentary on the Negro press when publishers will undertake to sell the entire paper, including news columns, editorial page, feature writers and commentators to a political party."

3. Horace Cayton, weekly writer for the violently pro-Dewey Pittsburgh Courier, strained against an iron GOP straight-jacket imposed on his paper. When he submitted a column favorable to labor and to President Roosevelt it was omitted by the Courier.

4. Ralph Matthews, managing editor of the Washington Afro-American, whose column was left out of the paper one week because of its pro-Roosevelt content, finally had the column printed. Matthews, one of the two Negro reporters on Governor Dewey's campaign train, submitted the pro-Roosevelt column after a close-up study of the GOP nominee.

11-4-44

Thunderous repercussions of the Republican attempt to muzzle militant Negro writers were reported developing this week. Hitting the attempt to sell Negro leaders "down the river" to GOP hack markets, Wilkins said:

11-4-44

"I wish to report that the Amsterdam has 'left out' my column since June 10 and the only explanation I have been able to get from the publisher is that I 'seemed to be partisan.'

"The Defender," continued Wilkins, "from my scrutiny of it beginning early in June, has maintained its integrity and done a good job of reporting Republican news while maintaining its support of Roosevelt. This is the kind of journalism that wins respect."

52a

Dr. DuBois, for years the most famous writer on the Amsterdam News, sent his resignation to Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher and publicity director for the GOP. Dated October 20 and acknowledging a check received from the paper, the letter stated:

Amsterdam Loses Best Columnist

". . . you may consider this payment as ending the contract between us as I shall send you no more material.

11-4-44

"I want to thank you for the courtesy and consideration given me in the past and I am sorry that our relationships cannot continue longer but, as I think you understand, I cannot allow my material to be changed and distorted at the will of any publisher. I realize, on the other hand, that you have a right to publish or refuse to publish anything you please. By the same token I have the right to refuse to furnish matter which is changed without my consent."

Cayton, the Pittsburgh Courier's rebel, told the Defender this week:

"I submitted a pro-labor column pointing out the necessity for the Negro to support Roosevelt and the opportunity the Negro community has to make a progressive alliance with the PAC. The column was not printed and I received no explanation from the publisher."

Dr. DuBois States His Reasons For Backing President Roosevelt

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

10-21-44

I must ask the hospitality of the "People's Voice" in order to explain my position in the present presidential campaign. I have for some years now furnished a weekly column for the "Amsterdam Ne and have been given wide latitude in expressing my opinions and prompt and adequate pay. In the last two weeks, however, I have expressed in my column briefly reasons why I favor the election of Franklin Roosevelt over Thomas Dewey. Both paragraphs have been omitted in the publication of my column. I realize the position in which Mr. Powell is placed. He is in the employ of the National Republican Committee and evidently assumes that this employment includes the opinions of all writers to his papers. I think in this respect he is making a serious mistake. It ought not to be possible for any political party to buy a newspaper and certainly my opinions are not for sale.

10-21-44

52

Being denied, therefore, the opportunity to state my political views in the *Amsterdam News* I turn to the *People's Voice*. I admit in the beginning that the stand and record of neither party and neither candidate is entirely satisfactory to me as an American Negro. The organized race hatred and segregation practices of the South are still powerful and prominent in the Democratic Party. The Republican Party has offered in the last fifty years very little beyond unfulfilled promises. *On the other hand, looking carefully at the record I feel without the slightest doubt that Franklin Roosevelt has done more for the uplift and progress of the American Negro than any president since Abraham Lincoln.*

I list among his notable accomplishments:

- the attempt to give the Negro a square deal under the NRA;
- the recognition of the necessity of lifting the Negro's standard of living and balancing his wide unemployment under the WPA;

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

10-21-44

- the curbing of banks and insuring of small bank deposits;
- the Federal Housing Authority under which I myself have been able to build a home at a reasonable rate of mortgage interest;

10-21-44

- the recognition of the right of labor to bargain for better wages and better conditions of work;
- the attempt to help the small Southern farmer through the buying of land, rural credit and rural electrification;
- the attack upon discrimination in employment through the FEPC and the backing of this through decisive action in every part of the country including Philadelphia;
- opposition to disfranchisement through outspoken condemnation of the Poll Tax through the white primary decision of the Supreme Court which Roosevelt reorganized;
- the courteous social recognition given to colored presidents of Haiti and Liberia and to colored guests in general at the White House;

10-21-44

- the appointment of a high class of colored advisers to administrative officials.

I am quite aware that few of these actions have been entirely successful. There was deserved criticism of the NRA and of the FEPC. Many of the political advisers have resigned because their advice went unheeded. *Nevertheless, the President's part in thse things seems to me to have been unassailable in its clearness of vision and in the indication of his wish.* The President of the United States is not all-powerful and Franklin Roosevelt has been handicapped and hindered by the necessity of not going so far as to lose entirely the support of the South. On the other hand, the forward steps he has taken have liberalized the South to a greater degree than the acts of any recent president.

10-21-44

On the other hand, in the case of Mr. Dewey, while I warmly applaud various individual political appointments, I just as strongly condemn his petty politics in the case of the proposed state FEPC. He appointed a high class committee and that committee prepared effective legislation but in order to avoid the criticism which such legislation would have brought in the presidential campaign, Mr. Dewey effectively stopped its passage and lead thus to the resignation of the best men on his committee. It does not mitigate this betrayal that he later appointed another committee to do the same thing which the first committee had already finished. I think this more than anything else indicates what we may expect of Mr. Dewey.

And finally he undoubtedly stands for those forces in the community who favor wealth, monopoly, and unlimited private property instead of working with Roosevelt and the New Deal for the socialization of wealth, the increase of wages and the lifting of the standard of living for the working people of the United States.

10-21-44

Renegade Negro Papers Publish Phony Accusation

Peoples Voice — New York, N.Y.

10-28-44

Although the Negro soldier has been segregated in the United States Army since the Civil War, two Negro newspapers last week tried to make their readers believe that President Roosevelt is responsible for this jimcro. These two renegade papers—"Afro-American" and "Amsterdam News—printed a handout evidently prepared by the Republican National Committee (both papers carried the same distortion, almost word for word alike). The third renegade paper—Pittsburgh Courier—apparently looked over the "canned" material, found it too wide open for disproval, and substituted in place of it an equally distorted attempt to prove that recent riots are to be blamed on the New Deal.

10-28-44

These three leading Negro newspapers, formerly New Deal but now Republican and on the Dewey bandwagon, have been misleading their reading public each week with the negative campaign propaganda of the Republican party. They themselves cannot believe the obvious untruths they publish, including last week's blundering opus blaming army jimcro on Roosevelt.

Truth: The Negro has been segregated in the army during and since the Civil War, under Republican and Democratic administrations alike. Under revered Abraham Lincoln, the Negro received a jimcro spot in the army. Under other administrations his status did not change.

10-28-44

The **Afro** and **Amsterdam** evidently think their readers have short memories. Before World War I, two all-Negro outfits—9th and 10th Cavalry—were famous as fighting units. Both were rigidly jimcro.

In the sporadic little battles which occurred between the Civil War and World War I—forays into Mexico, Nicaragua, etc.—the Negro played his usual jimcro role. Since both World War I and World War II came under Democratic administrations, persons wishing to obscure the truth can lay the smokescreen that Democrats are responsible for army jimcro.

Even in deliberately publishing this campaign untruth, the Afro blunderingly admits that Negro units were segregated in the Civil War under Lincoln. Yet Roosevelt, says the Afro, introduced jimcro into the armed forces, despite his order opening the Navy to Negroes for the first time in a hundred years.

10-28-44

Summary: Patron saint of these erstwhile New Deal—now Republican papers is Thomas E. Dewey. This is the candidate who blasted away at "civilian" interference with the armed forces. The War Department insists that jimcro is essential to the war effort. Right or wrong, the War Department runs its own affairs, without interference from the Commander-in-Chief, be he Republican or Democratic. True, Roosevelt could order all jimcro stopped. He has previously sent thru similar orders—which were and are disobeyed (for instance, the order banning discrimination in recreation facilities).

10-28-44

Jimcro in the Army is to be blamed on the War Department, just as blood bank jimcro lies at the door of the American Red Cross. In an effort to justify their sellout to the Republican party, two Negro papers crucify the truth.—JOHN LOUIS CLARKE.

CONGRESSMAN DAWSON SAYS A FEW PLUMS TO HANDPICKED NEGROES WON'T HELP GOP

Plaindealer — Kansas City Kan.

9-1-44

New York, N. Y.—"The greatest guarantee that the millions of Negro men and women in war industries and in the armed services will be given a square deal after the war lies in the re-election of President Roosevelt," declared Congressman William L. Dawson, Assistant Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in commenting on Labor Day this week.

Citing the job gains of the Negro in this war period, the Congressman stated, "Negroes are interested in performances and not promises. They will not accept the Republican double talk in this matter of jobs." 9-1-44

The action of the President in backing up the Negro's basic right to work with Federal troops in the Philadelphia Transit strike is concrete proof of where he stands" Congressman Dawson declared. He pointed out that the Democrats led the fight to extend the life of the Fair Employment Practice Committee which won a new victory in Los Angeles last week, as an agreement was reached to hire Negro operators on the transit system.

"Equality of economic opportunity has become an accepted fact under the Roosevelt Administration," Congressman Dawson declared. "Negroes today," he continued, "are not going to flirt with a Republican candidate for the Presidency who has demonstrated no interest in raising the status of the masses of the people." 9-1-44

"The old Republican game of passing out a few plums to a few handpicked Negroes will not win votes 1944." he concluded.

POLITICAL STRATEGY . . . CALL CHICAGO MEET

Courier—Pittsburgh Pa. 4-24-44

Sidney Hillman, chairman, CIO Political Action committee (standing, third from left), discusses with this group of CIO leaders in New York City the stand the labor organization will take in connection with the coming Presidential election. The group planned a broad political action meeting for Chicago.

Left to right, seated: W. Richard Carter, steel; George Weaver, CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination; Henry Lee Moon, PAC; Ferdinand Smith, National Maritime union, and Shelton Tappes, UAW.

Standing, left to right: Lucius Love and Boyd Wilson, steel; Mr. Hillman, Albert Black, shipbuilding; Earl Davis, UTSEA; Walter Hardin and Horace Sheffield, UAW; James Mason, steel; Noah Walters, Amalgamated; Milton Murray, PAC; Edward Washington, United Electrical Workers; Wesley Thompson, UAW; Harold Peters, electrical; C. B. Baldwin, assistant chairman, PAC, and Thomas F. Burns, PAC.

Candidate Spurns Vote Of Negro

Journal + Guide
Norfolk, Va. 8-12-44

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. —(ANP)—Governor Homer Adkins, campaigning for election as United States senator in the pending run-off primary has publicly announced that he does not want Negro votes, after being endorsed by Dr. J. M. Robinson, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association.

Congressman Fulbright is campaigning on the "white supremacy" plank. These two who must fight it out between themselves both apparently are afraid to accept publicly the Negro vote.

THE PICKENS INQUIRY

Adkins has already attacked Fulbright on the latter's voting to retain William Pickens, Treasury Department official, for a $5,600 annual salary.

Pickens was one of a number of citizens on government payroll who were investigated by Congress for alleged Communistic activities. Congressman Fulbright voted "no", meaning not guilty in the Pickens inquiry. 8-12-44

BARRED AT POLLS

Evidence that Negroes were illegally barred from the polls in several parts of the state during the primaries on July 25 continues to mount.

According to reliable sources, officials in Crossett, Kingsland, Warren and Clarendon refused to admit Negro voters to the polls during the primaries. Some rejected voters reported that election officials were very abrupt.

Method Wrong, Walter White Wires Nominee

Daily World—Atlanta Ga.
8-10-44

Recalls Fate That Met Child Labor Amendment

NEW YORK — (SNS)—Informed of Governor Dewey's intention to pledge Republican Governors meeting in St. Louis, to abolish the Poll-Tax by constitutional amendment, Walter White wired the Presidential nominee, "Permit us to reiterate that we have no faith in such a proposal and do not believe that the poll-tax will be eliminated in any measurable time by this method.

"Permit us to direct your attention to the fact that it requires a two-thirds vote of both houses of the Congress to pass a resolution for a constitutional amendment and that it requires affirmative action by three-fourths, or thirty-six of the states, before a constitutional amendment becomes effective. 8-10-44

"What would happen to an amendment to abolish the poll-tax may be judged by the fact that the amendment to abolish chid labor by this method was passed by the Congres more than two decades ago but to date only twenty-eight states have approved the child labor amendment.

"Any proposal of this sort can only aid the advocates of the poll tax by relieving the pressure upon the Congress to enact legislation which competent legal authorities maintain that the Congress has the power to enact. 8-10-44

"We vigorously urge that the Governors endorse the anti-poll tax bill which has passed the House of Representatives and which is now pending before the Senate and especially that the Governors unequivocally endorse cloture without such legislation cannot be passed by the Senate because of filibusters."

Negro Group for FDR Planned in Cleveland

Daily Worker—New York, N.Y.
8-21-44

CLEVELAND, Aug. 20.—Steps for the formation of a Negro citizens' committee for President Roosevelt were taken last night at a meeting of 50 Negroes, representing labor fraternal, political and church groups within the city. Miss Ann Mason of the National Political Action Committee called for an intensive registration campaign, outlining concrete methods for door-to-door work. Miss Mason, a former schoolteacher, and a leader in the Double-V organization in Cincinnati, was honored by her sorority for service to the community in organizing the "We Are Americans Too" programs. 8-21-44

Paul Shearer, organizer for the CIO Political Action Committee declared that the committee is "an appendage of no political party," that it functions in a nonpartisan fashion to guarantee the election "of progressives interested in the welfare of the people." He emphasized that the Negro vote may be the decisive vote in eight states, and called for the continuation of laws for the general good and enactment of laws to impliment the Teheran program.

Bernard V. McGroarity, executive secretary of Labor's Joint Committee for Political Action, compared the 1864 election with 1944. "The issue is progress versus reaction. Either we will go forward with Roosevelt to a better world or backward with the loss of much hard won ground."

William Hart, international representative of the steelworkers union, stated that Negro steelworkers were anxious to see Roosevelt re-elected, and pointed to the turnout of representatives from every steel plant to prove his point.

STRESS REGISTRATION

"We've got T-B and three B's," Hart told the group, "that is, we've got Taft, Bricker, Bender and Bolton and we'd better get rid of them." The audience agreed bitterly with his description of what Negroes could expect from the Hoover-like regime of a Dewey. 8-21-44

Speakers from CIO smelter workers, aluminum workers, steel forge plants, AFL construction and city workers expressed different phases of one problem: the need to re-elect Roosevelt; the need to get Negro people registered to vote and awakened to their own interest in this election campaign. Concrete measures came in for a good part in the discussion. Several spoke out on the role which women must play in the campaign, and one steelworker guaranteed the women present that they would not be relegated to "serving punch and cookies."

A number of Democratic precinct committeemen were present and a few GOP stalwarts. They expressed amazement that a political meeting could be held on such a sultory (98 degrees heat) August night.

Meetings of Political Action Committees in the four Negro wards were planned. Oscar Rucker, state trustee of the CIO electrical workers. was elected chairman.

52a-1944

This Is The Record . . . Read It for Yourself!

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa. 10-28-44

In his radio speech from New York last Saturday night, the President called attention to what might happen in the event Republicans win control of Congress. He stated that Senator Hiram Johnson of California would become chairman of the Foreign Relations committee, and that Senator Gerald P. Nye would become chairman of the Appropriations committee. Just for political effect, he also stated that in the House of Representatives Hamilton Fish would become chairman of the Rules committee.

Now, along the same source of reasoning we present below what the Negro in the United States has suffered during the past 12 years in having the Congress completely run by "Dixie" legislators:

10-28-44

IN THE SENATE

(23 OUT OF 33)

"COTTON ED" SMITH, South Carolina, Chairman, The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.
CARTER GLASS, Virginia, Chairman, The Committee on Appropriations.
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, Louisiana, Chairman, The Committee on Claims.
JOSIAH W. BAILEY, North Carolina, Chairman, The Committee on Commerce.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, Arkansas, Chairman, The Committee on Enrolled Bills.
LISTER HILL, Alabama, Chairman, The Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments.
WALTER F. GEORGE, Georgia, Chairman, The Committee on Finance.
TOM CONNALLY, Texas, Chairman, The Committee on Foreign Relations.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Georgia, Chairman, The Committee on Immigration.
ELMER THOMAS, Oklahoma, Chairman, The Committee on Indian Affairs.
JOHN H. BANKHEAD, Alabama, Chairman, The Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, Kentucky, Chairman, The Committee on Library.
JOHN H. OVERTON, Louisiana, Chairman, The Committee on Manufacturers.
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, North Carolina, The Committee on Military Affairs.
THEODORE G. BILBO, Mississippi, Chairman, The Committee on Pensions.
KENNETH McKELLAR, Tennessee, Chairman, The Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.
CARL HAYDEN, Arizona, Chairman, The Committee on Printing.
CARL A. HATCH, New Mexico, Chairman, The Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, Virginia, Chairman, The Commitee on Rules.
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Maryland, The Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.
HARRY S. TRUMAN, Missouri, Chairman, Special Committee to investigate the National Defense Program.
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, Louisiana, Chairman, Special Committee to investigate Civil Service System.
ELMER THOMAS, Oklahoma, Chairman, Senate Special Silver Committee.

10-28-44

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(30 OUT OF 47)

(Speaker: Sam Rayburn, Texas)

SAM RAYBURN, Texas, Speaker.
JOHN J. COCHRAN, Missouri, Chairman, The Committee on Accounts.
HAMPTON P. FULMER, South Carolina, (deceased) Chairman, The Committee on Agriculture.
CLARENCE CANNON, Missouri, Chairman, The Committee on Appropriations.
A. LEONARD ALLEN, Louisiana, Chairman, The Committee on Census.
ROBERT RAMSPECK, Georgia, Chairman, The Committee on Civil Service.
DAN R. McGEHEE, Mississippi, Chairman The Committee on Claims.
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, West Virginia, Chairman, The Commitee on the District of Columbia.
GRAHAM A. BARDEN, North Carolina, Chairman, The Committee on Education.
EUGENE WORLEY, Texas, Chairman, The Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.
JAMES DOMENGEAUX, Louisiana, Chairman, The Committee on Elections No. 1.
ED GOSSETT, Texas, Chairman, The Committee on Elections No. 2
HUGH PETERSON, Georgia, Chairman, The Committee on Elections No. 3.
WILLIAM M. WHITTINGTON, Mississippi, Chairman, The Committee on Flood Control.
C. JASPER BELL, Missouri, Chairman, The Committee on Insular Affairs.
HATTON W. SUMNERS, Texas, Chairman The Judiciary Committee.
ANDREW J. MAY, Kentucky, Chairman, The Committee on Military Affairs.
JOE L. SMITH, West Virginia, Chairman, The Committee on Mines and Mining.
CAROL VINSON, Georgia, Chairman, The Committee on Naval Affairs.
FRANK W. BOYKIN, Alabama, Chairman, The Committee on Patents.
THOMAS G. BURCH, Virginia, Chairman, The Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.
PETE JARMAN, Alabama, Chairman, The Committee on Printing.
FRITZ G. LANHAM, Texas, Chairman, The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.
J. HARDIN PETERSON, Florida, Chairman, The Committee on Rivers and Harbors.
LEX GREEN, Florida, Chairman, The Committee on Territories.
BRENT SPENCE, Kentucky, Chairman, The Committee on Banking and Currency.
ROBERT L. DOUGHTON, North Carolina, Chairman, The Committee on Ways and Means.
JOHN E. RANKIN, Mississippi, Chairman, The Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

10-28-44

Truman's Position On The Negro

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

"We must not forget that every community owes the Negro a fair deal in regard to public utilities, lights and sewers, street improvement and water mains. We owe the Negro legao equality and a fair chance in the world for several reasons, not the least of them because he is a human being and a natural born American. Because his political power is yet weak, he cannot be denied his rights. Never must we forget that if we sink the Negro to the depths of hopeless degradation and make no provision for his comfort in housing or any other necessity of life, the law of compensation will take effect and the whites too will go down with him. The Negro wants to be helped, not crushed. He wants opportunities to better himself, not relief. He wants just wages, not alms. He wants stability, security and friendliness. He knows that the Roosevelt administration has been his salvation in these days of turmoil, strife and depression.

8-20-44

"Ignorance breeds all of the feastering prejudice of our human family. In my opinion, greater educational facilities for the Negro would be a blessing to him at the same time a great boon to society at large. If white men wish to do better for themselves, it would be well for them to give more definite attention to th education of the Negro."

52a

Defender
go, Ill
Chicago, Ill.

Dewey

By C. B. POWELL

The fundamental issue confronting Negroes in the United States today is whether he is to be a first class citizen with all the privileges available to him that are available to every other citizen.

The Negro's program in the United States, his ambitions and aspirations all are geared to that end. The major issue for him in the present presidential campaign is, and correctly should be: Whose election will contribute most to the full integration of Negro citizens into American life?

10-28-44

Will it be Franklin D. Roosevelt and the moribund, bigoted race-hating South in control, or will it be Thomas E. Dewey, backed by representatives of the enlightened North, Middlewest and West sections where men are men and not slaves to other men, if they happen to be black?

Cites Armed Forces

The treatment of Negroes in the armed services is a good example to consider. In the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, and in the Civil War, Negroes served in the same units of the army and navy without discrimination.

This policy continued up to the last war when, under another Democratic administration, the situation began to change. Prior to 1914, military police, quartermaster and medical units in the army were mixed, Negroes and whites served together, not separately. The change came under President Woodrow Wilson, but, even then, there was nothing written into the record to establish discrimination in the armed forces as our national policy.

Then came the National Selective Service Act. In true spirit of American fairness, the law said:

"In the selection and training of men under the Act (Selective Service), there shall be no discrimination against any persons on account of race or color."

Blames Roosevelt

But this spirit of American fairness was blasted by an order issued October 9, 1940, which said:

"The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental units."

That order issued by President Roosevelt at the White House, put on record officially for the first time in all our history, as we have been able to find, a statement setting segregation and discrimination as the policy for the United States army.

10-28-44

It is this pattern of segregation and discrimination that has led to humiliation, mistreatment and murder imposed upon Negro servicemen.

The policy established by President Roosevelt, as commander-in-chief, is the reason the army cannot set up the mixed unit many liberal persons and newspapers have suggested. It is a vicious policy, it is un-American: it is unnecessary: it emphasizes the idea of a second-class position for the Negro in American life: it fixes the Negro's status as an inferior one in the eyes of the world.

Dewey Appointments

Mr. Roosevelt's policy has always been not to intermingle colored and white. In contrast to this policy, let us compare the records of Thomas E. Dewey and Franklin D. Roosevelt during their administrations as governor of New York state.

Mr. Roosevelt, as governor, appointed not a single Negro to a policy-making position. Governor Dewey, on the other hand, has shattered precedent after precedent in the appointment of Negroes.

Among the major appointments Governor Dewey has made are these:

Member, State Athletic Commission.

10-28-44

Justice, City Court, New York County, $17,500 a year.

Secretary, State Department of Labor, $5,000 a year.

Member. Industrial Commission, $8,500 a year.

Referee, Workmen's Compensation Board.

Four Assistant Attorney Generals.

Then there is the matter of the platforms of the two parties. Now, the principal functions of a national political party convention are to write and adopt a platform and nominate a candidate. Everything else is secondary.

The platform is the program and policy of the party—the basic structure of what it pledges to do. The candidate is the person the party chooses to administer that program and direct the fulfillment of those pledges.

Republican Plank

Great care is taken to see that a good platform is written, and that a good and worthy candidate is chosen. Parties usually take pride in their platforms, but this year the Democratic party is taking a new tact. It is saying that a platform is unimportant... that is, when the discussion arose about that part of it which deals with the Negro. And the reason?

It is because the pressure from the white supremacy South prevented the Democratic party from writing into the platform any forthright promises for the Negro.

This is what the Republican party says in its platform:

10-28-44

Racial and Religious Intolerance

"We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice.

"We pledge an immediate congressional inquiry to ascertian the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency and the adoption of corrective legislation.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey has repeatedly expressed complete support of the platform.

FDR and Poll Tax

Now this is what the Democratic Party said in the Negro plank, which the Chicago Defender blisteringly criticized, and which Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP assailed and called a splinter instead of a plank.

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional power to protect those rights." That is all there is to it, folks!

President Roosevelt has had ample opportunity to deal with every fundamental issue affecting the fundamental rights of Negroes.

Last May when Congress was discussing the anti-poll tax bill, President Roosevelt said nothing. Last week, with Congress adjourned, Mr. Roosevelt in a campaign speech, said he is against the poll tax.

Stand on FEP

In September when a bill to make FEPC permanent was being pushed around in Congress, Mr. Roosevelt kept a clam-like silence. Last week, with Congress ad-ourned, Mr. Roosevelt asserted, "Sure I am for the FEPC, didn't I reate it?" A. Philip Randolph asn't around to remind the President that it took a threat of a arch by 100,000 Negroes on Washington to get him to create e FEPC.

Mr. Roosevelt has remained mum on mob violence; he has refused to investigate mistreatment of Negro soldiers in the armed forces and he has consistently refused to recognize Negroes in important positions in the national government.

10-28-44

It's time for a change:

Governor Dewey's solemn pledge to back the party's platform fully on the matter of Negro rights has been emphasized in his campaign speeches.

In Seattle in his speech on labor he said: "We shall establish the Fair Employment Practices committee as a permanent function and authorized by law."

Perhaps promises or pledges don't mean anything to the Democrats, but they do mean something to the Republicans.

Governor Dewey has a word for that. During his speech in Oklahoma City, he said:

"The American people will see that we restore integrity to the White House so that its spoken word can be trusted once again."

Maybe then, platform pledges and other promises will mean something.

10-28-44

Then, there is the ever-present solid un-democratic South, which is unalterably opposed to any semblance of equality for Negroes. Under the Democrats, the South is in the saddle. The leaders of the South hold the domiant positions in the Congress of the United States. That explains why Negroes cannot support th Democratic party.

That explains wy IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE

Admission to WAVES and SPARS Opportune Political Tactics

Tribune — Philadelphia, Pa.

10-28-44

THE sudden "letting down" of the color bar in the Waves and Spars, which was announced last week by the Navy Department and the U. S. Coast Guard, comes at a particularly opportune political moment.

Those who are on the FDR bandwagon hail this precedent as typical of what we can expect if we continue to "work along" with the Commander-in-Chief.

But while we count this as another victory in our long and never-ceasing fight for equality of citizenship, we cannot help but reflect on some all-too-obvious facts—facts which smell strongly of politics.

The Roosevelt Administration didn't get the authority to admit Negro women to the Waves and Spars just two weeks before the election. That power was automatically vested therein, when war was declared. That the Administration has chosen to exercise this power only at this time of political crisis, is an insult to the intelligence of normal thinking people.

The Bethunes, Dawsons, Powells, and Shepards, who worship at the Roosevelt shrine, are wrong in their contention that this victory is the result of "working along" with the President. History proves aggression rather than appeasement has always been the solution to the Negro problem. Negroes have had to fight every step of the way for every victory they have ever gained. We will not be hoodwinked into thinking that "working along" with Roosevelt or any other president, whoever he may be, is the solution now.

10-28-44

While we, too, hail the smashing of the color bar in the Waves and Spars, we recognize in it the political strategy that has kept one man in office for three terms and is motivated to elect him for still another.

If all Negroes had jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon and not fought him for the gross discrimination practiced against Negro soldiers, the Navy Department would not have permitted colored women to become Waves and Spars.

This proves that if we keep on fighting hard enough and the defeat of Roosevelt becomes more imminent, discrimination might be abolished in all branches of the armed services.

When a Negro supporter of Roosevelt says FDR has been our friend, we agree. But by **"has been our friend"** we mean that he is not our friend today. No man is the Negro's friend who lets the South have its way with him.

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

We Negroes carry a special handicap in this country. Only by alert intelligence can we survive the injustices race prejudice heaps upon us. We should open our eyes and see that the Roosevelt of 1932 and 1936 is a different man today. He has become a candidate, with all that implies. He is no longer the President, a leader who dared to discipline Tydings in Maryland and George in Georgia. He has turned weather vane, searching out currents of public opinion that will carry him to office again.

LETS THE FEPC BE SHELVED

To prove that Roosevelt is no friend to the Negro today, we need not limit ourselves to what he has left undone. He puts us at the mercy of our enemies like the Romans threw the early Christians to the lions. When the Democrats met in convention the South dictated platform and vice-president. Two weeks later the measure authorizing the Fair Employment Practices ageny was under consideration in Congress. The convention pledged the Democratic party to deal fairly with "minorities." The time and the place were ripe for a show of interest, but the man was lacking. Roosevelt's lightest word would have saved the bill from being shelved, the committee handling it being Democratic. But neither he nor his national committee took a hand. The FEPC is put over "until after election" when it will be killed. We make that prediction because the South is in the saddle in the Democratic party.

10-6-44

VOTE FOR ONE IS VOTE FOR THE OTHER

It is beyond us how any Negro failed to see the newspaper stories of conferences of southern politicians held over a period of three years, with their purposes told in plain terms. With "white supremacy" their watch word, they laid plans and have given every bit of legislation affecting Negroes hard sledding in Congress throughout this third term. They are the group that made the President come to its terms. A vote for him is a vote for it and one has to be blind or foolish not to see it.

The experience of Woodrow Wilson with a rebellious and contrary U. S. senate back in the treaty making days following World War I has been duplicated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in his dealings with both houses of Congress in the last two years. He has need to get on good working terms with Congress. But we Negroes can never consent that we shall be thrown to the wolves to accomplish that.

10-6-44

HE THINKS WELL OF OUR WORST ENEMIES

Roosevelt has never been one to speak out. He leaves us to guess what he means. Alright, we will. In our opinion he has no real understanding of southern politicians—or does not care. Else he would not have said during the Democratic national convention in Chicago last July that to his way of thinking James Byrnes of South Carolina was the ideal choice for vice-president. He knew when he said it that South Carolina was the state which went the extreme length of calling a special session of its legislature to nullify the supreme court's decision that Negroes have the right to vote. The vice-president is a potential president. With James Byrnes of South Carolina in the White House, we would have no chance to earn a living because he would see that reconversion is not equitably administered. No man trained in the South Carolina politics can be fair to Negroes.

A Negro has to be a double dyed dunce to trust himself and his race to the "white supremacy" southern politicians now calling tunes for the President. Their bloc in the Senate has said on more than one occasion that by fair means or foul they will keep the Negro down. What fools we will be to help them in that ambition!

10-6-44

AN ALTERNATIVE THAT IS GOOD

Fortunately Thos. E. Dewey and the Republican party offer a way out, a choice as sound as the other is unsound. No attacks, open or covert can cover up Dewey's record as a thinker and doer. Any comparison of platforms makes the four ply pledge of the GOP to Negroes stand out as the most forthright facing of the race issue since Lincoln.

A year or so ago it was the writer's privilege to be host to the man who is now holding the No. 1 elective office for Negroes in the United States. He is Francis E. Rivers, judge in the city of New York. Before that he was assistant district attorney, a post to which he was appointed by Thos. E. Dewey. Naturally an appointee thinks well of his chief. But Rivers grew enthusiastic about his boss, a thing he would not have done had Dewey not deserved it.

10-6-44

Not only is Dewey capable, but he is the sort of American who lives the principles others talk about. Two weeks ago when Dewey the candidate came out square-toed for the Fair Employment Practice principle, he was stating his personal convictions as well as the pledge of the Republican party. FEPC has been his way of life. Some partisans cry "Dewey does not like Negroes." Logical argument is beyond such persons. This one appointment, that of Rivers to be his assistant, proves Dewey is free of race hatred.

52a-1944

On Race Prejudice, Dewey Pretends...

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

10-22-44

. . . that he is against this fascist-minded evil. . . . BUT . . . Dewey has evaded the issue in New York, both in the Hamilton Fish case and on the anti-discrimination commission to the indignation of such Negro leaders as Dr. Channing Tobias . . . AND . . . among his staunchest backers are blatant anti-Semites and champions of discrimination against Negroes . . . as these cases indicate. . . .

HAMILTON FISH, who has connived in sending out 1,600,000 copies of seditious material under his frank, has added anti-Semitism this year to his other defeatist statements and deeds. **He was the author of the phrase "The Roosevelt Depression," now used by Dewey, when in 1938 Fish said: "I accuse the President of using the war scare as a deliberate plan to distract popular attention from the Roosevelt depression"** (Congressional Record).

It was then that he also said, on Jan. 19, 1938: "I would be perfectly willing to let Japan have a navy equal to ours" (Congressional Record, Vol. 83, p. 783).

It is not surprising, then, that Fish introduced anti-Semitism into his congressional campaign in July, when he attacked "90 percent of a certain people" for voting New Deal, as he contended.

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

WESTBROOK PEGLER, loyal Dewey supporter, has carried on a campaign against the rights of the Negro people, capped by his defense of the Philadelphia Transit walkout.

Declaring "no law has been flouted by the strikers," Pegler had the shamelessness to say:

"The immediate issue was the upgrading of Negro workers. It is held to be undemocratic and un-American to discriminate on grounds of race or religion.

10-22-44.

"But the same authorities who decry discrimination here threaten to discriminate against white Americans and, by making them utterly unemployable, reduce them to a status even more painful and humiliating than that of the Negroes . . . the whole Roosevelt administration is arrayed on the side of one of the parties against the other."

WHY I AM ANTI-ROOSEVELT

by

Former Chaplain-Captain

Grant Reynolds

Tribune — Savannah, Ga.

Former Captain-Chaplain Grant Reynolds

11-2-44

By an act of Congress, an American receiving a commission in our armed military and naval services becomes an officer and a gentleman. The Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth Articles of War which govern his conduct ubstantiate the assertion While I am in somewhat dubious agreement in his becoming an officer by such legislative action, I am unalterably convinced that Congress cannot make a gentleman—white or black. The facts bear this out. In the case of making officers it has too often taken the equivalent of an act of God to confer this honor upon Negro service men.

11-2-44

No group of America's fighting men has faced quite the same ignominious treatment as the Negro officer. His has been an uphill fight all the way with the various cards squarely stacked against him. Repeatedly ignored, more often merely tolerated, frequently humiliated, the Negro officer has run the gauntlet of everything insulting and debasing that America could offer. Yet there has never rested upon any group greater responsibility. The War Department's reluctance to commission Negroes in the first place, added to the convictions strongly held by many military brass hats that "it is inconceivable that niggers should become officers" has made it incumbent upon Negro officers to make good in spite of the dirty deal they have been given. Shifted about from place to place without reason of common sense, denied promotions and the opportunities to qualify for same, given unassigned status because the War Department in many instances indicated that it did not know what to do with them, segregated in mess halls, officers' clubs, and barracks, the Negro officer, in spite of his failure in some instances, has made a most creditable record in this emergency.

11-2-44

11-2-44

In a regiment to which I was attached there were two colonels, although the Table of Organization called for but one. In another regiment to my knowledge there were two medical officers with the rank of major although the T. O. in this case too called for but one. In another instance a group of colored officers, among whom were men in the field grades, was sent from Michigan to the state of Washington. When they arrived and it was discovered that they were Negroes, the high up military authorities told them that there was no place for them to serve out there. They, therefore, sat around, embarrassed and ashamed of their nation, while the military authorities frantically sought to transfer them ot some post where there were colored troops. Many weeks passed and these men sat around in idleness while the nation pretended to prepare to resist enemies. Still another parallel situation existed when a group of officers was transferred from my regiment to a post in Utah. A lovable wife, several months pregnant, followed her husband into this situation and died of heartbreak and childbirth.

11-2-44

At Fort Huachuca, , Arizona Negro officers of an infantry regiment of the 92nd Division who worked along with white officers throughout the training hours during the day, were jim crowed in the regimental mess hall. It is to the credit of these men that they refused to eat under the circumstances. They withdrew in a body and ate their meals elsewhere at great expnse to themselves. Incidentally the colored chaplain in this case was severely reprimanded by the division chaplain (a colored officer referred to contemptruruously by enlisted ~~men as a "long coat")~~ for sympathizing with the colored officers. The officer who thus showed his manhood by resenting such an insult was soon relieved of his assignment and shipped off into the South Pacific.

11-2-44

11-2-44

At the same post scores of Negro officers assigned to the 92nd Division were court martialed for what in many instances were petty offenses. There never was a white officer so disciplined. The commanding general of the division organized a disciplinary school for so-called "inefficient officers" to which only Negro officers were sent. White officers in this division equalled, if not outnumbered, the colored officers. I suffered the personal embarrassment at this post of having been made subordinate to a white officer with the rank of first lieutenant while I held the ank of captain.

11-2-44

At Tuskegee, home of the famous 99th Pursuit Squadron, but derisively referred to as the home of the "Black Birds" by the Alabama crackers, there are so many Negro officers that as many as five are assigned to one squadron as adjutant. The reason for this surplus is the insistence upon War Department policy of sending Negro airmen to Tuskegee alone. A similar unjustifiable arrangement obtains at Fort Huachuca's Medical Officers' Replacement Pool. Here the army assigned all newly commissioned medical officers of color when no immediate position with troops could be found for them. Many of these men went to Huachuca from the Army Medical Training School at Carlysle Barracks, Penna. There they would be given temporary assignments in the jim crow hospital until the brass hats in Washington could decide what to do with Negro medical officers. Permanent assignments were often found for these men within a few hundred miles of Carlysle. But the army would have to bring them back from Fort Huachuca to such an assignment, a distance going and coming of more than 4000 miles. At one time during my stay at Fort Huachuca there were more than twenty medical administrative officers temporarily assigned to the jim crow hospital. The hospital authorities were not only belabored in trying to find suitable assignments for these men, but sleeping accommodations were so exhausted by the surplus that many of

11-2-44

them were forced to sleep in the recreation hall.

11-2-44

When it is understood that army officers receive eight cents per mile for traveling expenses, in addition to their pay, some good idea is gained about the great expense involved in maintaining army segregation. Some enterprising statistician will some day figure the cost of the War Department's segregation policy and the figure obtained will come as a great shock to American tax paayers.

52

The story of the Negr oofficer in this war, as well as that of the Negro enlisted man, is one so sordid and pregnant with degradation and insult as to outrage the sensibilities of any decent American, white or black. Officers have written me accounts of being refused food at railroad junctions, while at the same time and place white prisoners of war were being fed in the dining room. How this nation can, in time of war, thus destroy the manhood of its fighting men, and then expect them to pay gladly with their lives for its protection is one of the imponderables of the ages. If there is a moral foundation to the democratic system our country has by its treatment of its colored soldiers rent that foundation asunder.

11-2-44

But what can be expected when the nation's military leadership is in the hands of southerners who are totally void of human understanding because their very souls have been corrupted by a fetid and foul color phobia! The Arkansas born Lt. Gen. Brehon Somerville has poken for his leadership when he announced his plan for returning Negro servicemen. He said, "I'd throw the coons into the middle of the desert."

11-2-44

America might just as well understand that the returning Negro veteran will be quite different from the sheltered boy who left home to join the army. He will be a hardened man into whose training has gone the most diabolical methods of destroying human life. In addition to learning how to kill with the rifle, bayonet, hand grenade and mortar, he has been taught in many instances to annihilate a human body with his bare hands. These men, many of whom have found death from enemy fire and from the dreaded diseases which infest the jungles of the South Pacific can not, and should not, be expected to assume their former role of subservience to white men blinded by color. Nor will they ever accept with grace the role of America's forgotten man. If in pursuit here at home of blessings for which they were ordered to die abroad they precipitaate bloody conflict, the science of humanity must act as their judge.

11-2-44

Mr. Roosevelt and the barbaric southern mob which surrounds him have laid the basis for the most bloody outbreak of violence after victory that this country has ever seen.

52

Unless this mob is repudiated at the polls next week the blood of Negro veterans will one day water the streets of American cities. For the Negro voter the die is cast. Either he will use his vote to help avoid this impending disaster or he will perpetuate in office the bloodthirsty and deadly mob which threatens the very lives of his loved ones. A vote for Roosevelt is a knife struck into the back of a Negro serviceman.

11-2-44

A comment or two From the "Buckeye Review,"

The Union—Cincinnati Ohio

10-26-44

Unless they are denied, Folks will believe, They are true.

It was no surprise to learn that the Pittsburgh Courier had endorsed Dewey and Bricker. It was coming and it came. And it was the weakest endorsement the Courier has ever made.

The ourier says Negroes want integration, not separation; recognition, not beneficence; first-class citizenship with the right to speak and be heard for themselves without "friendly" white interpreters.

52

Then: "What party will give them these things? Will it be the Republican party of Governor Dewey or the Democratic party of President Roosevelt?" Period! And the endorsement wanders off to the matter of post-war unemployment with the question still dangling without an attempt to answer it.

10-26-44

Says the Courier: "We offer no excuse for the spineless leadership of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. There was absolutely no reason for the selfishness and the do-nothing attitude of the reactionary Republican clique. It can be shown that the same leadership controls the party, we are against it still and yet! However, it is our firm conviction that younger men—vigorous, alert, progressive and liberal—are now in the saddle. Men like Governor Dewey of New York, Governor Warren of California, Governor Griswold of Nebraska, Senator Ball and Commander Stassen of Minnesota can furnish the type of leadership America needs."

Of course you know that Senator Ball over the weekend stated that he refuses to campaign for Governor Dewey.

Are Senator Taft, Col. McCormick and Herbert Hoover counted out as being among those now in control of the Republican Party? Who counts them out?

10-26-44

Not so many years back the Courier gave a lot of space to the way a certain Attorney General of Ohio upheld the discrimination of Doris Weaver at Ohio State University. That Attorney General was John W. Bricker. The SAME John W. Bricker now endorsed for the vice-presidency. And the SAME John W. Bricker the Courier did think fit to be Governor of Ohio by supporting his opponents.

Our largest newspaper has made its weakest endorsement.—The Buckeye Review, Youngstown, O.

Cites Gains Of Negroes Under FDR

Argus—St. Louis, Mo

10-27-44

Questions Sincerity Of Opponent Dewey

NEW YORK, Oct. 23—In a statement issued here this week, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted Negro scholar, declared: "Looking carefully at the record I feel without the slightest doubt that Franklin Roosevelt has done more for the uplift and progress of the American Negro than any President since Abraham Lincoln."

The statement was issued exclusively for publication in the October 21st issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE, New York weekly newspaper, because the New York AMSTERDAM NEWS, to which Dr. DuBois is a weekly contributor, consistently omitted from his column his arguments for the reelection of President Roosevelt. The AMSTERDAM NEWS is published by Dr. C. B. Powell, who is also Assistant Publicity Director for the Republican National Committee.

52

Lists Contributions

Dr. DuBois listed the following as among the "notable accomplishments" of President Roosevelt with reference to Negro citizens:

10-27-44

"-the attempt to give the Negro a square deal under the NRA;

-the recognition of the necessity of lifting the Negro's standard of living and balancing his wide unemployment under the WPA;

-curbing of banks and insuring of small bank deposits;

-the Federal Housing Authority under which I myself have been able to build a home at a reasonable rate of mortgage interest;

-the recognition of the right of labor to bargain for better wages and better conditions of work;

10-27-44

-the attempt to help small Southern farmers through the buying of land, rural credit and rural electrification;

-the attack upon discrimination in employment through the FEPC and the backing of this through decisive action in every part of the country including Philadelphia;

10-27-44

-opposition to disfranchisement through outspoken condemnation of the Poll Tax through the white primary decision of the Supreme Court which Roosevelt reorganized;

-the courteous social recognition given to colored presidents of Haiti and Liberia and to colored guests in general at the White House;

-the appointment of a high class of colored advisers to administrative officials."

52

Condemns

With reference to Governor, Mr. DuBois said, "I just as strongly condemn his petty politics in the case of the proposed State FEPC." He referred to the Governor's scuttling of the Wicks bills for a New York State FEPC in order to gain Southern support for his nomination at the GOP Convention. "I think this," continued Dr. DuBois, "more than anything else indicates what we may expect of Mr. Dewey."

10-27-44

Dr. DuBois concluded with the statement that Governor Dewey "undoubtedly stands for those forces in the community who favor wealth, monopoly, and unlimited private property instead of working with Roosevelt and the New Deal for the socialization of wealth, the increase of wages and the lifting of the standard of living for the working people of the United States."

52a-1944

How Kansas Negroes Voted In 1940

Plaindealer — Kansas City, Kan.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Negro will be the deciding factor in Tuesday's election in many cases where county, state and national public officials are elected. . . . The best authorities have predicted that the Negro vote in large urban centers will decide who will be elected President Tuesday. . . . They will decide the electoral vote. 11-3-44

Kansas has a large Negro vote which can be a deciding factor in many cases. The following figures will show the voting strength in districts over the state. The figures are based on 1940 census. Since that time, there has been a tremendous increase in Kansas City, Wichita, Topeka, Hutchinson, Dodge City, Salina and other centers where defense industries are located.

52a

The Figures
KANSAS

District	Senators	Plurality	1940 Total	Potential Negro Vote
	Capper, Arthur (R) 1942	83,622	497,359	43,005
	Reed, Clyde Martin (R) 1938	92,758	746,306	43,005
	Congressmen	1942 Plurality	1940 Total	Potential Negro Vote
1	Lambertson, William Purnell (R)	15,558	106,141	10,187
2	Guyer, Ulysses Samuel (R)	14,969	136,446	18,590
3	Winter, Thomas D. (R)	13,425	109,352	5,008
4	Rees, Edward H. (R)	11,299	92,130	6,210
5	Hope, Clifford H. (R)	27,274	111,387	1,991
6	Carlson, Frank (R)	21,813	114,329	1.151

11-3-44

Senator Robert F. Wagner

World — Memphis, Tenn. 11-10-44

The return of Robert F. Wagner to the United States Senate Tuesday by the voters of New York, is second in significance only to the re-election of President Roosevelt himself. A proud symbol of New Deal legislation, Senator Wagner has come to be the undisputed successor to the progressive mantle of the late George W. Norris. No man in the Congress possesses a keener insight into nor a firmer grasp upon foreign and domestic problems facing us in the postwar America.

Eighteen years in the United States Senate, the Senator has built for himself a record of performance too well known for recital here. He heads the important Banking and Currency Committee. He has made a gallant attempt to raise the living standards of the lower income groups in our society, in the factory and on the farm. He fathered the United States Employment Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

52a

In another important sense, Negroes should never forget the unfailing loyalty which he demonstrated to us at every opportunity in Washington, down the battle for Federal aid to Education. His re-election was of such great importance to Negroes that Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made a personal radio plea in behalf of his candidacy. We congratulate the voters of New York upon their wisdom in returning Senator Wagner to Washington for a fourth term, instead of giving a first term to Thomas Curran, Governor Dewey's Secretary of State, who built his campaign almost exclusively upon Sidney Hillman, Earl Browder and the Political Action Committee. 11-10-44

Election Song Of The People

Daily World — Atlanta, Ga.

By ANDY RAZAF (Non-Partisan)
(To The tune of Battle Hymn of the Republic)
(For ANP)

We are the common people
who are fast becoming free
Thru a brave administration
with a wise philosophy,
Protection for the "Little Man"
and Opportunity— 11-2-44
The New Deal marches on!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, glory, Hallelujah!

At last, we've learned to know
which side our bread is buttered
on
So we'll never turn back to the
night
Now since we face the dawn,
The days of broken promises and
empty talk are gone—
The New Deal marches on!

52a

Our duty's very simple
For its' mighty plain to see
why the enemies of labor
have no love for Franklin D.
He dares to help the working
man
and that means you and me—
Three cheers for Franklin D.
11-2-44

That Nazis and the Fascists
are not all across the foam
Is a fact that every patriot
should carry in his dome,
We must not win the war abroad
and lose it here at home—
So vote for Franklin D!

Today we live to witness
men who strive by word and deed
For a better life, regardless
of one's color, race or creed,
One party talks about it
while the other plants the seed—
The New Deal marches On!

You voters who have loved ones
Far away beyond the sea,
Do not fail them while they're
fighting 11-2-44
In the cause of liberty,
If men can die for freedom
We can vote to keep men free—
Let's vote for Franklin D!

Dr. DuBois Cites Reasons Why He Is For Roosevelt

Daily World — Atlanta, Ga. 10-22-44

Administration Has Been Godsend To Race, He Says

52a

NEW YORK — (SNS) — In a statement issued here this week, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted Negro scholar, declared: "Looking carefully at the record I feel without the slightest doubt that Franklin Roosevelt has done more for the uplift and progress of the American Negro than any President since Abraham Lincoln."

The statement was issued exclusively for publication in the October 21st issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE, New York weekly newspaper, because the New York AMSTERDAM NEWS, to which Dr. DuBois is a weekly contributor, consistently omitted from his column his arguments for the re-election of President Roosevelt.

The AMSTERDAM NEWS is published by Dr. C. B. Powell, who is also assistant publicity director for the Republican National Committee. 10-22-44

LISTS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Dr. DuBois listed the following as among the 'notable accomplishments" of President Roosevelt with reference to Negro citizens:

" — the attempt to give the Negro a square deal under the NRA; — the recognition of the necessity of lifting the Negro's standard of living and balancing his wide unemployment under the WPA; — the curbing of banks and insuring of small bank deposits; — the Federal Housing Authority under which I myself have been able to build a home at a reasonable rate of mortgage interest — the recognition of the right of labor to bargain for better wages and better conditions of work; — the attempt to help the small Southern farmer through the buying of land, rural credit and rural electrification; — the attack upon discrimination in employment through the FEPC and the backing of this through decisive action in every part of the country including Philadelphia; — opposition to disfranchisement through outspoken condemnation of the Poll Tax through the white primary decision of the Supreme Court which Roosevelt reorganized; — the courteous social recognition given to colored presidents of Haiti and Liberia and to colored guests in general at the White House; — the appointment of a high class of colored advisers to administrative officials." 10-22-44

52a

CONDEMNS DEWEY

With reference to Governor Dewey, Dr. DuBois said, "I just as strongly condemn his petty politics in the case of the proposed State FEPC." He referred to the Governor's scuttling of the Wicks bills for a New York State FEPC in order to gain Southern support for his nomination at the GOP Convention. "I think this," continued Dr. DuBois, "more than anything else indicates what we may expect of Mr. Dewey." 10-22-44

Dr. DuBois concluded with the statement that Governor Dewey "undoubtedly stands for those forces in the community who favor wealth, monopoly and unlimited private property instead of working with Roosevelt and the New Deal for the socialization of wealth, the increase of wages and the lifting of the standard of living for the working people of the United States."

Henry Wallace Drops In On Press

Weekly Review — Birmingham, Ala.

New Yorkers gasped last week when Vice-President Wallace dropped in unannounced for an informal chat. 9-9-44

He appeared at the office of the Amsterdam News and People's Voice, shook hands, passed the time of day and was gone before reporters and cameramen could catch their breaths.

The Vice-President was asked to head a Roosevelt-for-President committee, but prefers to avoid set speeches and talk inside with small groups in the border States and the unit.

Observers believe Mr. Wallace, despite the Chicago doublecross, is out to campaign for FDR, but in his own way and with an eye to his own political future as a liberal leader in 1948.

So watch out, everybody, today's caller may be the Vice-President of the United States.—Afro-American.

52a

PRES. ROOSEVELT AND THE SOUTH

Plaindealer — Kansas City, Mo.

Franklin D. Roosevelt has been elected three times by majority of the votes cast in the last three elections. While people of all political faiths have voted for him he has been elected as head of the Democratic party ticket. This would label some men as mere Democrats. There are men too big and their ideals and working philosophy cannot be compressed within the limits of any race, creed or political party. President Franklin Roosevelt is such a man. What is the evidence?

10-20-44

I

One evidence is the outstanding fact that Roosevelt has been elected three times which breaks a tradition deeply imbedded in this nation's thinking and practice. He could not have been thus elected on a strictly party vote, certainly not of the Democratic party. True, when the nation becomes tired or disgusted with any man in power the people will ignore party lines in order to effect a change as was done when the nation desired a change in the Hoover administration. But once the change is made the party lines can and usually are restored by the time the next election comes around. Why, then, was Roosevelt elected a second time? And by whom? It was not merely because he was running on the Democratic ticket, nor was he elected by only Democrats. In that second election he carried nearly all the states, the majority of which are nominally Republican. People of all party affiliations voted for Roosevelt, not in order to effect a change, but in order not to have a change in the office of president, Nor was he elected a third time because he headed the Democratic party ticket. And it required a great deal more than strictly a party vote to smash a tradition and elect Roosevelt for a third term.

II

52a

Another evidence that Roosevelt is too big to be limited by strictly party lines is the fact that he has been labeled less as a Democrat than by other titles. Even when called a Democrat he has been almost always designated as a liberal Democrat, which among other things, has carried the meaning that he is not a Democrat in the strict interpretation of the term. He has more often been called a New Dealer, this to indicate that he was somewhat outside the Democratic party. Earlier the term was used in praise, later in derision. Fact of the matter is President Roosevelt has been called almost everything except a true and tried Democrat. It has been difficult to fasten him down within the limits of any traditional pattern. He fits no where except in doing the things that make a strong appeal to the citizens of the nation without regard to class, color, creed or party. Add to this the fact that he is a candidate for a fourth term and is, within less than a month of the election, conceded by almost all political expert observers as sure of election. And if he is elected to a fourth term, as at present seems likely, it will be not by strictly party votes but by the vote of the people without respect to party lines.

10-20-44

III

But some few Negro leaders point out that because Roosevelt is a Democrat his re-election will mean that the southern Democrats will be in power—and the South is definitely against the Negro. That scare is easy enough to raise, and it is one that the wise will not attempt to laugh off. Because there is a real danger in the continued prestige and power of the conservative South to the rights, ambitions and hopes of the Negro. The scare, then, may not be a mixture from which elements of truth are entirely lacking. Nothing is gaind by overlooking facts and ignoring threatening possibilities. There is, however, a weakness—a tragic weakness—in the arguments of the few Negro leaders who link Roosevelt and southern Democrats together as a scare to the vast majority of Negroes who are still in Roosevelt's corner. This weakness lies in what they do not point out—and for the reason, perhaps, that they have not thought them out. They find it much easier to raise questions intended to confuse. But the very questions have implicit answers that are almost self-evident. Some of the things these advocates of loyalty to the Republican party do not point out are: Why did Negroes in the first place turn to Roosevelt? Why through the years have they stuck to him? Why is there such opposition and bitterness to Roosevelt in the solid South? Why is it that there is such admiration for Republican Dewey among rockribbed Democrats of the South? Why is it that southern Democrats think better of Dewey's position on the doctrine of state rights than they do of Roosevelt's? What is it that the southern senators and congressmen have been able to do under the Roosevelt administration detrimental to the Negro without some type of support from Republican senators and congressmen in the North, East and West? Let those who can see so much danger in the link up between Roosevelt and the Solid South POINT UP ON THE ABOVE QUESTIONS DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION.

How To Beat The South

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

10-28-44

The greatest enemies of Negro progress in the United States are, by general agreement, the Southern Bourbons.

Because of seniority rights in the House of Representatives and the Senate, Washington spokesmen of the Southern oligarchy are in control of a majority of the committees as chairmen.

It is a well-known fact to everyone familiar with Washington politics that most of the work is done in committees, and those who control the committees as chairmen have the power to hamper or stop any legislation they do not like.

We have seen this practiced time and again when the House judiciary committee, under the chairmanship of Representative Hatton Sumners of Texas, has been able to sidetrack anti-lynching and poll tax legislation.

52b

What can the colored people of this country do in this election to curb the power of these committee dictators?

They can do nothing in the South because of the notorious one-party system which has cursed the section for nearly three generations, and which disfranchises 4,000,000 Negroes and 6,000,000 whites.

They can do nothing by voting the Democratic ticket and re-electing President Roosevelt because that means perpetuating the very system they wish to end.

They can only strike a blow at this reactionary clique by voting the straight Republican ticket and electing Governor Dewey to the Presidency.

A Republican victory will mean that all the chairmanships now held by Democratic Representatives and Senators will be turned over to Republicans, all of whom will be from sections outside the Bourbon South.

Every honest person knows that the rights of Negroes will be safer with the Congressional committee in charge of Northerners than they will be in charge of Southerners.

10-28-44

Sidney Hillman and the other officials of the CIO-PAC fought against the naming of James F. Byrnes as Vice-Presidential nominee because Byrnes is a Southern reactionary, and yet such a Vice-President is not nearly as undesirable to Negroes as a reactionary committee chairman who can throw a monkey wrench into any and all progressive legislation.

Those Negroes who are eager to break up the present system can do so by voting Republican in this Presidential election, and that is the only way it can be done.

Three Mississippi Electors Will Not Support Roosevelt

Advertiser — Montgomery, Ala.

10-29-44

JACKSON, MISS., Oct. 28—(AP)—Three of Mississippi's nine Democratic electors announced in a statement today that they would cast their electoral votes for Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in the electoral college.

Signing the joint statement addressed to "the voters of Mississippi," were W. G. McLain, of McComb; Clarence E. Morgan, Kosciusko, and F. E. Everett, Indianola.

The statement said that the electors had agreed to support President Roosevelt and Senator Harry F. Truman, "providing nothing transpired to make their election inimical to the best interests of the South."

52c

The statement added:

"Since that time many things have transpired proving beyond doubt that the election of Roosevelt and Truman would be inimical to the best interests of the south. Their appeal to the negro vote in the north, promising to do away with race segregation in the south, their open acceptance of support from Communists and from Sidney Hillman of the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O., and other derelictions, convinces us that these two men no longer represent the Democratic party as we have known it, or as Mississippians have known it for more than 50 years.

10-29-44

"Because of these events and conditions, we will, if elected as presidential electors on Nov. 7 cast our ballots in the Electoral College for the true, loyal, and genuine Democrat, Harry Byrd of Virginia, for President."

With only ten days remaining before the election the trio's action leaves heretofore rock-ribbed Mississippi with no course available to secure an all pro-Roosevelt ticket.

Deadline for filing a list of independent electors was Sept. 7. Voters have the alternative of supporting the Democratic electors, including the three who announced support of Senator Byrd, remaining away from the polls, or voting for one of the two Republican slates.

10-29-44

The statement today followed by several days a declaration by a group of Delta Democrats who announced at Greenville that they would support the regular Republican list of electors headed by George L. Sheldon of Clinton, one time governor of Nebraska, providing that Democratic electors did not announce their opposition to a fourth term prior to the election.

52a-1944

Life Writer Warns Negro On Vote; Should Not Cast As Unit, He Says

Informer—Houston, Texas 10-7-44

A Balance Of Power Should Be Our Goal

10-7-44

By EARL BROWN

This is the last of the series of articles by Earl Brown, of the Staff of Life Magazine for Continental Features on Registering and Voting.

There is a great deal of talk about the Negro vote, but no one ever says just what this vote is. Some people, including politicians (white and colored) and newspaper men, speak of the Negro vote as being a quantity apart from the rest of the vote. This is so because people naturally think of Negroes as being different from all others.

All Make Promises

52a

Then too, politicians purposefully play up Negro voters as having different needs and problems than other voters in order to get their ballots on election day.

"We'll solve your problem; we'll do this and that for you," these politicians, Republicans and Democrats, declare with over-emphasis. They even exhort Negroes to register and vote so that they can vote for purely Negro needs. Of course, these politicians perennially represent themselves as chafing at the bit to go out and supply those needs, if elected. THEY NEVER DO.

10-7-44

This kind of an appeal to Negro or any other group of voters is bad for everybody. No one should register and vote only for his own or his group's benefit, but for the welfare of the entire body politic. Don't let any politician or anyone else win your vote on the specious grounds of race. Vote for the candidates who in your opinion will do the most for the entire country. If such candidates are elected, blacks and whites, rich and-poor, Protestant, Catholic and Jew will benefit.

The so-called Negro vote is only part of the total vote. Negroes are said to vote on bloc, because they are segregated in cities in the North and are easily accessible to politicians anxious to sell them on the basis of color. Of course, Negroes do not vote en bloc, though a majority of them will vote for this or that candidate in any given election the same as other voters.

10-7-44

Instead of being racial vote the so-called Negro vote today is more nearly an economic vote. This is explained by the fact that in 1936 and 1940, a great majority of Negroes voted for President Roosevelt, who, they were convinced had benefited them the most materially.

Negro No Different

But the Negro voters were no different than a majority of white voters in this regard. The fact that in some places a greater percentage

Detroit Vote Recalled; Put Race On Spot

of Negroes voted for Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 and 1940, than whites indicated that a greater percentage of Negroes were in need of economic security and other benefits, such as housing, which had been sponsored by the Roosevelt Administration. After the 1940 election, a majority of voters voted Republicans into office. Included among them were a majority of the Negro voters. This proved that the Negro voters act, think and vote the same as all other voters, under normal conditions. They do not vote as a racial group ecept under extraordinary circumstances.

10-7-44

An example of this was the mayoralty election in Detroit in 1943. The colored voters of Detroit plumped against Mayor Edward Jeffries in both the primary and regular elections in protest against his mishandling of the tragic Detroit riots. Mayor Jeffries won the election only because he stooped to race-baiting, denunciation of Negroes and open consorting with the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-Negro organizations which abound in Detroit.

By voting as a group the colored voters of Detroit, put themselves on the spot as a group, though it was clearly understandable and justifiable for them to have done so.

52a

The big challenge to the colored voters—to all voters—in this election is to vote for the candidates who in their judgement will do the most to accomplish the things we need to improve our democracy. Among them are:

10-7-44

1. Succesfully prosecution of the war, which is by no means over. 2. Successful prosecution of the peace—not merely the signing of a peace treaty after the war, but a willingness and determination to work for peace after signatures are affixed to the treaty. 3. A willingness and determination to give every American enough economic security. In other words, provisions for jobs for all Americans. 4. A resolute, honest handling of the race issue so that the nation's biggest domestic problem will not blow up America after the war.

If colored citizens think of these things and many more before they vote this year, they will be voting as full-fledged citizens. Any other way would be shortsighted and harmful.

Noted Author For Roosevelt Because He Hates Color Line

Advertiser—Montgomery, Ala.

11-1-44

Seeing Roosevelt as the Nation's sole hope of destroying "all the white supremacy ideas in the world, all the segregation and jim crow customs, all the white and colored signs," Lillian Smith, novelist, enthusiastically endorsed President Roosevelt in an open letter to the managing editor of The Advertiser.

Miss Smith's novel was predicated on the disappearance of racial barriers in southern family life. Her letter follows in full:

"A few nights ago I was on the platform with Mr. Thomas E. Dewey and had my first close-up view of this man who wishes to be our next president. I have been so troubled by this experience that I find myself wanting to put into words my reasons for voting for Mr. Roosevelt and wanting—since I am a writer—to have these reasons read by others.

11-1-44

"Some of the reasons why people vote the way they do are surely as complex and secret as those motivating any human action. But there are two quite simple and obvious reasons that determine our choice and it is of these that I want to write here:

Your Idea—And Mine

"One has to do with your idea and mine—of the kind of man needed for the most important job our country and our century have ever forced upon a human being. A lot of silly things have been said about Dewey's physical appearance, all of which seem to me beside the point. It doesn't matter whether our president is a man four feet, six inches tall or six feet four inches tall. It is the size of his brain that I'm interested in; the size of his imagination, the size of his heart and the size of his experience with people and their problems. I want to know whether his imagination can stretch only to the edge of New York State or whether it is world-size; I want to know whether his heart is just big enough to include a few powerful white people, some Christian Fronters, the McCormicks and Pattersons and yes, Cotton Ed Smith down in South Carolina, or whether it can make room for the workers, for the unions and industry, for the rich and poor, black and white, and for you and me. I want to know whether a man's brain is just big enough to be prosecuting attorney for the county of New York and to accept the governorship, whether it is big enough to pull a nation through the world's worst depression and the world's worst war.

11-1-44

"These things are important to know. And we know them. We know the size of Mr. Roosevelt's mind, the size of his imagination, we know the size of his heart and we know what his experiences have been with people, with problems, with depressions, with rehabilitation of our country, North and South, and with the waging of war. And we believe this brain, this imagination, this heart and this experience can help plan a world that can live in peace with itself, if we are behind him.

11-1-44

Who Wants Dewey?

"Were we to gather together the men of great stature in the world today, men some of whom have made big mistakes but all of whom have done world-size deeds and dreamed world-size dreams; there is not an intelligent person in the United States who would leave out Mr. Roosevelt. Even those who blacken his name the most would not leave him out of that group. But how many people would put Mr. Dewey in? And why would they put him there?

"We vote for a man because we believe in the superiority of his brain and his imagination, because we know the greatness of his heart and have seen the breadth of his experience, but we also vote for a man because we want things. Now the Republicans undoubtedly want something and want it bad to vote for Mr. Dewey . . . and what they want is not too hard to guess.

"I want things also. And I am going to vote for Mr. Roosevelt because I think he can help me get them. Not alone, no. He can help me and you get them if we stand by, ready to give the heave and push that it takes to lift 130 million people out of the ruts of their old ways, old fears, old self-interests on to the highway of world cooperation.

"Let me name some of the things I want:

11-1-44

"I want to see the poll tax abolished, the white primary abolished. I want to see our white and colored people all over the United States, in Georgia and California and in New York, voting. I want that because I believe the vote is a bridge that will tie white people and colored people closer together; a bridge that will tie democracy closer together and keep it tied.'

"I want jobs—jobs for white and colored Americans; jobs for men all over the world. I want jobs that can use a man's skill, his ability, his interest and pride and pay him in full for this use. I want jobs offered men because they are men and can work, not because of their skin color or their religion. I want that because I believe a job for every man is a bridge that will tie white people and colored people together, that will tie democracy and the whole world together!'

Wants More Bridges

11-1-44

"I want more bridges. More and more bridges built across that deep cleavage between nations, between the white man and negro; between the white man and all men of different color, between white men and each other. The vote; jobs; a lifting of wage levels; housing and health projects; and legal justice and better ways of educating our children are bridges we need. We need them to span the deep gullies in our American life; to span the deep chasms between us and the rest of the earth's people.

"And we need a bridge builder. Building bridges is a man-size job and we need a big man to build them. But no man on earth can build the bridges I want, alone. Only with us behind him. Even with us behind him, it takes a man who knows about bridges to build them.

"Mr. Dewey doesn't know about bridges. Mr. Dewey never dreamed a bridge in all his life; never looked down in that awful chasm between our people and prayed that it be bridged over. He doesn't know what that chasm has done to your life and my life and his life; what richness has been washed away in it, what terrible things it has done to democracy, to children, to religion, to all of us. But you know. And I know. And Mr. Roosevelt knows. Mr. Roosevelt has looked into deep chasms and he has dreamed bridges. Yes, he has dreamed hem and has built a few.

Racial Bridges

11-1-44

"Who can forget it? How can ny one forget the bridges that ve been built during the past elve years! From race to race, om rich man to poor man, om the farm to the market, om the mill to the worker, nging closer together the lives Americans, rich, poor, black and white, and making these lives more worth the living. It is true that he failed to build some bridges—some that we needed terribly and wanted. Why? Because a man can't build bridges alone. And we didn't stand by him. White men didn't stand by and colored men didn't either. Rich men and poor, industry and unions often failed to stand by when they were needed.

"There are many things separating men from each other; poverty and greed separate men, fear of change separate men, but there is no separation between us so deep as the cleavage of race. I know we need more than bridges for this. We need in this country more than the vote, more than jobs, "better education," more than housing and health projects and justice in our courtrooms if the great chasm of race separating us from each other, splitting democracy, splitting the world wide open is to be closed. We need to fill it up. If it isn't filled up, it is going to split the peace wide open also.

11-1-44

"We need to fill it up with the white man's pride of color; we need to dump into it all the White Supremacy ideas in the

world, all the segregation and Jim Crow customs, all the White and Colored signs; we need to strip them out of our American life and dump them in this chasm until it is filled forever. That is the only way to close it. And no President can do this for us. No man on earth can do it for us. One by one each white person will have to walk that chasm and dump in it his own white pride, his own fears and frustrations, dump in it his own ideas of superiority, and take along with him those White and Colored signs and dump them in also!

"Mr. Roosevelt has put quite a few things into that chasm and he has tried to persuade other white men to help fill it up. He wants it filled. You know that and I know that. It needs to be done but he can't do it for us.

11-1-44

"But he can build bridges across it if we help him do it. It's a man-size job but he's the man who can do it. He can dream them and make them come true with you and me to help him. He's done it before, remember. Don't forget that. He'll do it again if we stand by him.

"Sincerely yours,
"Lillian Smith."

Out to Capture Texas For GOP

Amsterdam News— New York, N.Y.
10-28-44

10-28-44

LEADERS FROM COUNTIES met in Houston recently, formed the Republican Council of Texas, elected Dr. T. [illegible]alton, president, formulated plans to capture Texas for GOP nominees for president and vice president, Governors Thomas E. Dewey and John W. Bricker. Delegates to the meeting are shown in the above picture. They are reading from left to right, standing, Mrs. Mattie Landry, J. W. White, T. W. Pratt, J. L. Thomas, H. C. Thornton, C W. Scott, J. A. Ridley, B. H. Davies, J. M. Handley (County chairman of the Harris County GOP) and J. W. McGaffey. Seated, right to left are C. W. Rice, Dr. T. J. Walton, Attorney Melvin, Rev. J. R. Burdette, Mrs. R. J. North and Rev. A. W. Harvey.—Fotos by Sid's Studio.

ESTIMATE 85 PCT. OF NEGROES VOTE FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Plaindealer — Kansas City, Kansas
11-10-44

EARLY REPORTS IN LARGE CITIES

(James A. Hamlett, Jr.)

With an estimate of 85 per cent of the Nation's Negro vote going in the Roosevelt column Tuesday in major cities like Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., Kansas City, Kansas, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Detroit, Boston, Cleveland, Los Angeles and others, President Roosevelt was able to carry the electoral vote in Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts and Missouri, the states needed badly by Governor Dewey to defeat the President. But as had been predicted over and over, the Negro vote was the deciding factor.

11-10-44

Commentators and editorial writers, especially those in disfavor of the re-election of President Roosevelt attempted to shift the deciding vote to the soldier and labor vote, but from the returns in large cities the Negro vote turned the trick that caused President Roosevelt to give Governor Dewey a smashing defeat by a landslide.

mplished through the columns of three or four of the big Negro newspapers. The smaller newspapers were left out in many instances, even threatened to accept small checks ($100.00) on the grounds that they give editorial support for Dewey or be counted out. This newspaper was given that information by the PM, New York daily.

The following below will give you the story:

New York, N. Y.
Oct. 23, 1944.

J. A. Hamlett, Jr.,
Editor, The Plaindaeler.
1612 North Fifth St.
Kansas City, Kansas.

11-10-44

The New York Age reports receipt of check for $100 from Republican National Committee for publication of publicity copy. Accompanying letter from C. B. Powell stated "Continuation of the purchase of space in your paper will be contingent upon your cooperation and the position given our publicity." The Age returned check with statement it would not permit dictation of its policy on use of publicity copy. We would like to know whether your paper received funds from Republican National Committee for similar purposes, if so, how much, and whether money was accepted. Please wire answer plus any further comment desired collect.

Arnold Beichman,
Asst. Managing Editor,
PM, New York.

October 23, 1944

Arnold Beichman,
Assist. Managing Editor, PM,
New York City.

We have not received any money at all from Republican National Committee for publication or political advertisement nor any offer.

11-10-44

We have given space to some of their releases that had news value, all of which has been free. The Plaindealer is supporting President Roosevelt for re-election.

The Plaindealer.
J. A. Hamlett, Jr., Editor.

In every one of the cities and in every one of the states where those big Negro newspapers are published, Roosevelt carried the Negro vote and won the electoral votes. The cities: Kansas City, Mo., Pittsburgh, Pa., New York City and Baltimore.

Negroes showed that they have confidence in their leaders and that they are able to sense facts from distorted propaganda. They were able to know the difference between performance and promises. In Chicago, Congressman Dawson was re-elected, and in New York, A. Clayton Powell will go to the Congress as the first Negro from a New York district. In Kansas City, Attorney J. H. Herbert lost in his attmept to be elected to the legislature. Kansas City, Mo., doesn't seem to have the racial consciousness necessary to swing the Negro vote in line, however there are some who try to tell Kansas Negroes what to do. Apparently they don't know the lesson about "Let your bucket down where you are," taught by the late Booker Washington.

11-10-44

In Kansas City, Kansas, President Roosveelt was given a strong Negro vote and made the race close for many of the Republican candidates on the county ticket. The vote given Roosevelt by Negroes is the largest, even larger than the days of the WPA. The strong Republican organization was not able to turn the Negro voters for Dewey. The CIO movement, the Non-Partisan League and the support of the Plaindealer increased the Roosevelt support in the Negro precincts. The swing to Roosevelt does not necessarily mean that the Negroes have gone Democratic. It simply means that they were for Roosevelt and some of the Democrats got the advantage to the extent that things were close and three offices were gained. [illegible] swing to Roosevelt in Kansas [illegible] Kansas means this. No longer will Negroes be fooled by [illegible] They are for the man [illegible] something about their pr[illegible] they have confidence in [illegible] leaders.

11-10-44

Hastie Supports FDR; Denies Quitting PAC

Defender — Chicago, Ill.
10-28-44

WASHINGTON — Judge William H. Hastie last Thursday indicted the Republican party on two counts as he emphatically denied GOP "propagandist" reports that he had resigned from the National Citizens Political Action committee.

"I shall do whatever is in my power to accomplish the reelection of President Roosevelt," declared Hastie in a letter to Sidney Hillman, head of the NCPAC. Hastie, however, reserved the right to criticize the short-comings of the Roosevelt administration."

The two "developments" in the present campaign which Hastie said convinced him that "all liberal Americans must support the Democratic National Ticket in the November elections, are:

1. "The Dewey campaign has become in large measure a fight to destroy organized political liberalism, as represented by NCPAC and PAC. No tactics are too dirty, no hold is barred in the Dewey campaign against all that NCPAC and PAC represent. The future of organized liberalism in American politics is at stake in the fight to defeat Dewey. He must, therefore, be defeated."

10-28-44

'Dewey Reckless'

2. "The American voter must rebuke Mr. Dewey and his high commands for the gross political immorality of the campaign they are conducting. More and more the Dewey appeal to voters is being based on reckless misrepresentations deliberately made and repeated again and again. There is always danger that if lies are big enough and repeated often enough many people may believe them. Hitler operated on this principle for years and perverted the thinking of the entire German nation. It must not happen here."

In his letter to Tillman, Hastie expressed the opinion that the American voter "must say to Mr. Dewey and through him to all irresponsible politicians: 'We don't like it when our public men try to mislead us. We are smart enough to see through men who make deliberate misrepresentations of fact. We will not elect such men to high public offices.'"

10-28-44

Hastie repudiated the statements of his resignation, saying, "This report, as you know, is false." Pointing out the role of the Negro in the liberal ranks, Hastie wrote, "A way has been found to make the people more articulate and to make government more responsive to their will. As a Negro, I find new hope in the fact that Negroes are a part of this great political effort and that full racial justice is included by PAC and NCPAC in a national program of political education and action."

CIO GROUP OPTIMISTIC

Times — New York, N.Y.
10-28-44

Sees Hope for Roosevelt Victory in Heavy Registration

With registration figures in key States running over those of 1940, the CIO Political Action Committee predicted yesterday that the 60,000,000 mark of four years ago would be equaled and asserted that this heightened hopes for the reelection of President Roosevelt. The statement recalled that a vote totaling 49,800,000 had re-elected the President in 1940, but added that many voters in the armed services had been deprived of their right to the ballot by "Republican treachery."

The PAC statement asserted that the heavy registration in Chicago, Detroit, New Jersey, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Philadelphia and Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) in Pennsylvania, as well as the heavy registration in New York City, was favorable to the President.

Although a 10 per cent slump in the rural areas, admittedly the Republican stronghold, has been noted, the statement declared that this was no cause for jubilation and that renewed effort was required for a Roosevelt victory.

52a-1944

ROGERS SAYS:

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Both Candidates Able, But Dewey Is the Man For a New Day

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

10-28-44

Mr. Rogers

IN the rival Presidential candidates we have two of the finest and ablest men of the Nation. Both are unimpeachable in public and private life, but it is evident that they place the national good above their own personal one. President Roosevelt is without a doubt the ablest statesman this Nation has had since Lincoln. But for his wisdom America might have been isolated today and faced with a world-conquering Hitler. The charge that he took America into the war to solve the problem of unemployment is childish. The trouble began when Woodrow Wilson, rightly or wrongly, led America into the last war, where she provided the balance of power that defeated Germany and for which Hitler had sworn revenge.

Hitler had not only been lining up Europe, the Orient, and South America against the United States, but he had this Nation honeycombed with spies. Had Roosevelt permitted England, the last bulwark against Hitler to be beaten, it would only have been a matter of time when America would have found herself alone, her back to the wall. 10-28-44

DEWEY IS THE MAN FOR A NEW DAY

The giving of the destroyers to Britain, lend-lease and the escorting of lend-lease ships as well as the supplying of arms to China while cutting them off from Japan, were virtually acts of war. The President, of course, wrongly soothed the nation by assuring us that there would be no war. In spite of this, however, when all is said and done, what he did has really been in America's best interests.

AS regards Governor Dewey, I was one of the many who felt that he was not "Presidential timber." I had to take that back as soon as I heard his speech of acceptance. Instead of feeling as I did then that it would be a walk-over for Roosevelt, I now see that he is a very formidable and competent challenger, and that victory is likely to go either way. Dewey's speeches are the very model of consciousness. In the vigor of their attack I have never heard anything like them before. There is a forthrightness in Dewey's delivery and lack of political pose makes me feel here is a man honest and true to the depths—a man for a new day. I had something of that impression as I watched him closely for two hours while he talked individually with scores of Negro newspapermen at a reception in New York some months ago. 10-28-44

FORTH TERM DANGEROUS

In short, I feel that if either of these two men are elected the Nation, as a whole, will be in able hands, provided they get the necessary co-operation. I am not disturbed at the charges that if Roosevelt wins the Communists will rule and that if Dewey does, Wall Street will. As for the employment situation after the war, no one on earth really knows what it's going to be like. The war, which is not yet over, has brought such earthhquake changes to our social system, that we will be feeling it acutely for the next 50 years. Anything can happen.

AS for a fourth term, frankly I think that smells of danger. The Founding Fathers would have been against it. It paves the way for a dictatorship such as there has been in some of the South American countries and which finally led to bloody revolution. However, Roosevelt can be elected only on the majority will of the people. Also, while there are false charges and misrepresentations being made on both sides, the machinery of this contest is strictly on the square. 10-28-44

MASTER RACE THEORY A SERIOUS MATTER

In the matter of international harmony after the war we are also told that Roosevelt is the better man to promote it. But here again we are dealing with an entirely unknown situation. For aught we know war might flare up among the allies now fighting Hitler. Personally, too, I am afraid of too much international concord as that is very likely to mean that the darker races will remain the continued prey of the imperialist nations as they were under the League of Nations.

10-28-44

HAVING discussed and dismissed (at least to my own satisfaction) some of the burning issues of the campaign, I now come to the one that really stirs me—the issue over which we are told this war is being fought, namely, Hitlerism with its doctrine of a "master race." America, too, has such a doctrine, and if this falsity so endangered us 4,000 miles away in Germany that we had to go to war against it and spend hundreds of billions of dollars to save ourselves, surely it must be a very serious matter here, too.

Next week I shall say which of the two candidates gives promise of being the greater foe of Hitlerism in America. In the meantime let me quote what another third great American. Wendell Willkie, says on this. In his last work, "An American Program," he says, "The Negro lives in our midst under discriminations which differ from the racial discriminations practiced by our enemies, the Nazis, only in that ours are illegal and that we are free—if we wish—to fight against them."

"White Suprema cy" Is The Issue

Age – New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Senator Maybank (Dem., S. C.), declared Saturday that Southern Democrats are prepared to carry their battle for "white supremacy" to the party's national convention, adding that "anything can happen" if they lose.

Maybanks said that the action of the South Carolina State Convention last week in delaying the selection of state electors until after the Chicago nominating meeting, was a move "to make sure that our white Democratic Party in South Carolina is appreciated by the national party."

5-27-44

Southern Democrats, said Maybanks, will resist seating of competing Negro delegations from their states, would oppose adoption of platform planks favoring passage by Congress of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, and would seek to restore the former convention rule requiring a two-third vote for Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominations.

THE "AGE" DOESN'T TELL

Globe + Independent – Nashville, Tenn.

10-20-44

The eminent New York Age breaks with a 60-year tradition in espousing the election of a Democratic candidate for President, it assures us. This is big news and causes any person who hears it to be anxious to know WHAT prompted the paper to make so momentous a decision. But after reading the paper's editorial in its issue of October 14, it would seem that the "AGE" could have been more impressive had it merely said: "Exercising the right of freedom of the press, this newspaper, this year, is going to support Roosevelt, and we shall not feel obligated to give anybody a reason for our decision."

But the "AGE" wants it known that it is not "so blindly Republican that it would not see Thomas E. Dewey is being backed by the same Herbert Hoover and the same die-hards who at election time masquerade as our friends but in reality are our enemies." 10-20-44

Now we contend that all that the brother has said, as above quoted, are mere words and ought not be potent enough to convince even the editor of the paper. It would seem very unlikely that such a mere accumulation of words would convince any of the paper's readers, who according to its own admission, have expressed surprise at the paper's decision to go Democratic.

The editor enumerates the many alleged benefits that have come to the Negro Race from the hands of President Roosevelt and boasts that they are so superior to any gifts from Governor Dewey that Negroes can "ill afford to trust their future to the Republican candidate whose espousal of the doctrine of states rights aligns him with the most vicious elements coming out of the South—the lynchocrates, poll taxers and slavocrats."

There, we submit, is another bundle of words incapable of convincing any intelligent reader of the "AGE" that the editor has disclosed just WHAT caused him to jump the Republican fence this year.

10-20-44

The editor takes up most of his editorial quoting from the recent speech of President Roosevelt, in which the President belatedly came out in a mild endorsement of poll tax repeal and in favor of having the federal government give aid to education in communities that need it.

Now we contend that Mr. Roosevelt is on record in stronger terms than were ever uttered by Thomas E. Dewey as an advocate of States' Rights, and never would have been chosen in 1932 as a nominee of the Democratic Party had he not espoused the States' Rights doctrine. We contend that it is a matter of record that the party to which Mr. Roosevelt belongs defeated poll tax repeal; that when the poll tax repeal bill was up for consideration in the senate, this year, MORE Republicans voted for the repeal bill than Democrats and that even had all Republicans who opposed the bill voted FOR IT, that would not have been sufficient votes to pass the measure. We charge that the reason why the poll tax repeal bill was defeated—that is, failed to get enough DEMOCRATIC votes in the senate to bring the bill up for passage—was because a DEMOCRATIC senator told his collegues that Mr. Roosevelt was not in favor of passage of the bill. Mr. Roosevelt never did repudiate this senator's use of the President's name to bring about defeat of the poll tax repeal bill. 10-20-44

The contention in the "AGE" editorial about Dewey being backed by Herbert Hoover will appeal to no intelligent reader who takes a look around and sees the whole crowd that is backing Mr. Roosevelt. We contend that Mr. Roosevelt's hope of being elected this year depends upon his getting the electoral votes of the states which the "AGE" editor tells us are run by the "lynchocrats and poll taxers." The people whom the "AGE" editor calls "slavocrats" we presume, are some sort of a foreign sect and we can't be positive about how much dependence the New Deal is putting on "slavocrats" to help push over the fourth term touchdown.

And so we close as we began, stating that the New York AGE hasn't told a waiting world the real cause of its jumping out of the Republican pasture into the Roosevelt-Rankin briar patch. As we recall, the "AGE" editor, as late as August of this year, was managing the campaign of Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks for the Republican nomination for Congress and was working hand in glove with the Dewey Administration in its effort to elect Mrs. Speaks. That fact makes the fence-jumping calisthenics of the AGE still more mysterious. The fact is it gives reason to believe the "AGE"

10-20-44

might jump back into the Republican pasture before election day. Mr. John Rankin has made many a colored Democrat do that very thing this year—with his little pitchfork.

'We Must Make Prejudice Unprofitable'

Dewey Pledges To Correct 'Conditions Of Inequality'

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

10-28-44

520

ALBANY, N. Y.—In a reply to a query from The Pittsburgh Courier seeking an expression of his attitude on opportunity and justice for colored American citizens, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican Presidential candidate, early this week declared that American economy will never be sound "unless there exists equality of opportunity, equal justice before the law and full citizenship for all our people."

Declaring that the custom of "hiring Negroes last and letting them go first" is an evil practice, Governor Dewey added his personal pledge to the Republican party platform promise of a permanent FEPC. "We must make race prejudice unprofitable,' he said. "My administration will have only one prejudice. It will be prejudiced against injustice." 10-28-44

PLEDGES SUPPORT OF PARTY PLATFORM

The Republican candidate declared himself in complete accord with the other measures endorsed by his party concerning race relations, the abolition of the poll tax, the enactment of anti-lynching laws, and investigation of discrimination in the armed forces with adoption of corrective measures.

"It is my public pledge that these promises will be fulfilled," the Governor wired.

The full text of his statement follows:

"All of our people are entitled to know before casting their ballot my position on these issues of such vital importance to all Americans and particularly to the colored American citizens. 10-28-44

JOBS MOST IMPORTANT

"Let me make it very clear that I believe that there is no Negro problem which can be solved separately from the problems which face all of our people. Americans, whatever their color or creed, want jobs, and the Number One peacetime problem for America is to get jobs for everyone at a wage level sufficiently high to provide a decent standard of living. I am pledged to a national policy designed to produce full employment at a high wage level. I am confident that the full opportunities which this great, rich country of ours provides, will enable it to achieve full employment without the sacrifices of the freedom, security or justice to which every American is entitled.

10-28-44

GOVERNMENT WILL AID

"The winning of jobs by all will require first clearing away the road block to prosperity which has been erected during the past 12 years by the present administration. Therefore, during the period needed to get our productive machinery back in order, my party is pledged to have the Government provide the help needed by any family to maintain an American standard of living.

"Furthermore, my party is concerned about the continued security of the wage earner. My administration is pledged to an extension of social security protection to agricultural and domestic workers in order that there can be an equal enjoyment of our laws by all citizens, whatever their occupation.

GOVERNMENT OF INTEGRITY

"To accomplish and support such a sound, prosperous and expanding economy, the first responsibility of any administration to the Negro citizen and to all other citizens is to provide a government of integrity. I pledge you such a government.

"Further, I recognize that no economy can be sound unless there exists in America equality of opportunity, equal justice before the law and full citizenship for all our people. Such a condition of equality, as we know only too well, does not exist for the colored American citzen today. This must be corrected. While I do not believe that the unique injustices suffered by the Negro today can be wiped away over night, I have too much faith in the conscience of America ever to believe that this question of race relations is impossible of solution. 10-28-44

"I think the National Government should go to work on it and itself assume responsibility for leadership in developing mutual respect and co-operation between peoples of diverse races and religions. This duty is owed to all America and not only to its Negro citizens.

FOR PERMANENT FEPC

"The custom of hiring Negro workers last and letting them go first because of the color of their skin and without regard to their diligence or abilities is an evil practice which strikes fundamentally at our goal of equal opportunity. This denial of justice and equal opportunity must be stopped. The platform of my party in these words pledges a cure for this grave evil:

"'We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.' 10-28-44

"I unreservedly accept this party promise and have repeatedly pledged its performance.

"I consider this commitment most important. It removes artificial barriers to full employment, and hence is imperative. If we are to undercut the prejudice, the bitterness, the discrimination and the segregation to which our colored American citizens have been subjected, we must have an America in which there are jobs and opportunity for everyone, no matter what his color, his creed or his national origin.

MAKE PREJUDICE UNPROFITABLE

"Me must make race prejudice and religious prejudice unprofitable. My administration will have only one prejudice. It will be prejudiced against injustice. Its loyalty will be to law, to equal protection of the law, to equality of opportunity and to the fight against intolerance. 10-28-44

"The platform on which I stand has concerned itself not only with an agency to abolish racial injustice from employment, but considers other vital issues involved in race relations. The platform of the Repubilcan party also condemns without reservation the injection into American life of racial and religious prejudice. Furthere, in full recognition of the harsh conditions from which many of our Negroes in the armed forces suffer, this platform demands an immediate inquiry to get at the facts of mistreatment, segregation and discrimination practiced upon Negroes in our armed forces, and the adoption of corrective measures.

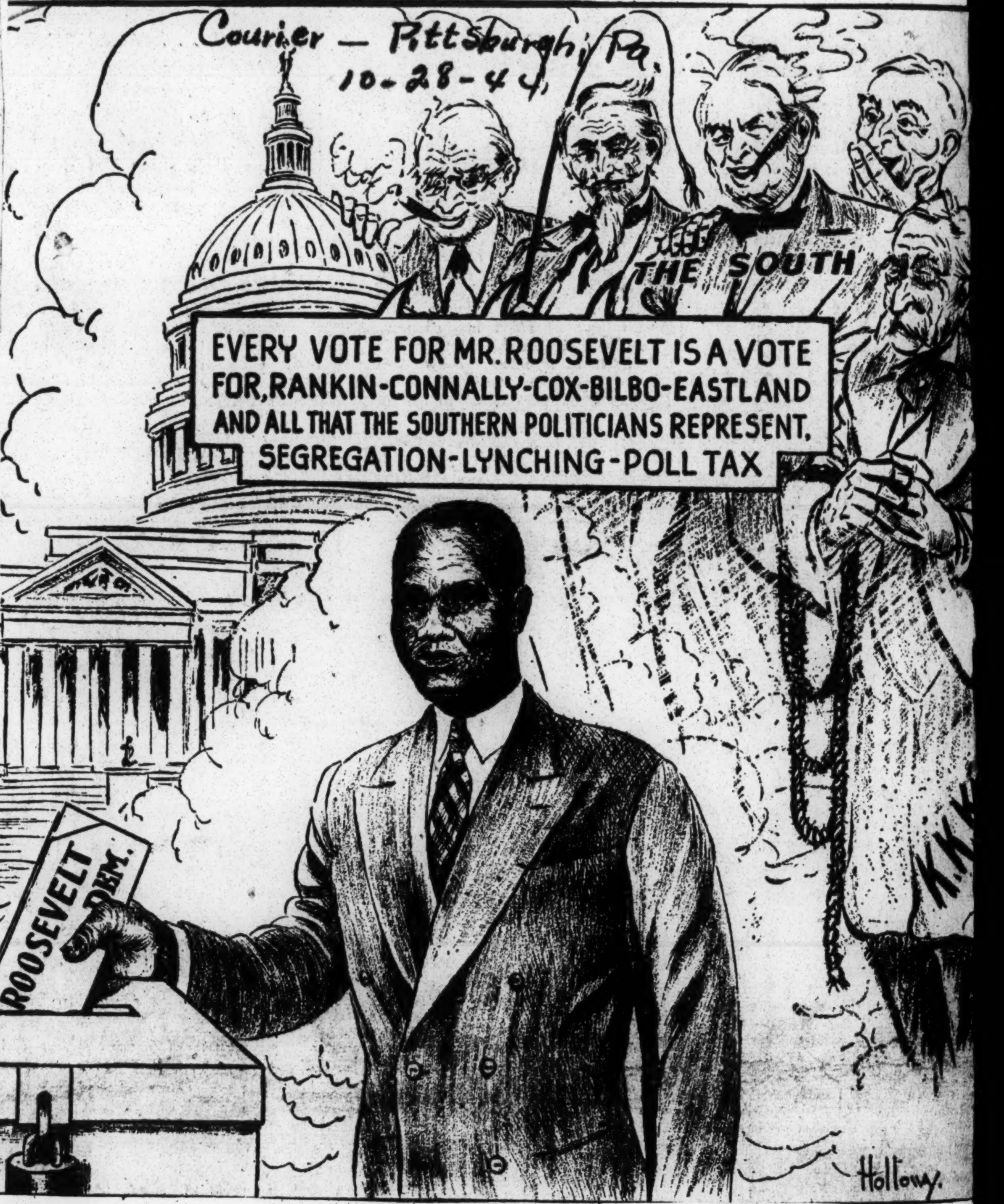
OPPOSES POLL TAX

"The platform further opposes the payment of any poll tax as a condition for voting in Federal elections, and calls for its abolition. Finally, this party pronouncement declares in favor of early enactment of laws against lynching.

"This is my party's stand on these issues. It is my stand, and it is my public pledge that these promises will be fulfilled.

"I firmly believe that the accomplisment of these measures will enable all Americans of every race, creed and color and national origin to go forward to a full life, with equality and opportunity for everyone. 10-28-44

"I hope these expressions make clear my stand on the vital matter about which you have asked me. I believe that with proper leadership these principles will meet the acceptance and approval of the overwhelming majority of American citizens."


THE SOUTH
EVERY VOTE FOR MR. ROOSEVELT IS A VOTE FOR, RANKIN-CONNALLY-COX-BILBO-EASTLAND AND ALL THAT THE SOUTHERN POLITICIANS REPRESENT, SEGREGATION-LYNCHING-POLL TAX
ROOSEVELT DEM.
K.K.K
Holloway.

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.
10-28-44

52a-1944

Permanent FEPC, Dewey's Pledge

The Union — Cincinnati, Ohio

10-26-44

DEWEY ADDRESSES BAPTIST CONVENTION!

HE SAYS: "We shall establish the Fair Employment Practices Committee as a permanent function and authorized by law."

From Seattle speech of September 18, 1944, broadcast over national hookup.

In October of 1942, Mr. Dewey, then a candidate for Governor of New York, addressed the Annual Meeting of the New York State Baptist Convention at Union Baptist Church, in New York City.

10-26-44

In a stirring declaration of faith he said: "One of our war aims is to destroy international discrimination because of race, creed or color. It is absurd to talk about eradicating evils in other countries when we have not wiped out those evils at home. There is still a big job to do in wiping out discrimination in our own country.

"The valor of the colored soldier has been proved in American battles from Bunker Hill to Pearl Harbor and since. I shall be happy when we catch up with Commodore Chauncey who wrote in 1812: 'I have yet to learn that the color of the skin or the cut and trimming of the coat can affect a man's usefulness.' If such a dictum were enforced in all our armed forces, on land, sea or in the sky, ability would be the only qualification for promotion and young Negroes would know that military careers of distinction were open to them. Already colored troops are stationed in Australia, Africa, the British Isles. know they will acquit themselves with distinction wherever they go.

10-26-44

Governor Dewey's entire public career has been a vindication of that faith.

In his speech delivered before Interracial Rally on June 3, 1942, at Lewisohn Stadium, Governor Dewey again expressed that faith, saying: "For years I have seen colored and white men and women work side by side in my office with splendid spirit and complete amity. We work together, eat together and have our defeats and triumphs together. Prejudice no longer has a place in American life."

10-26-44

We have often set forth for comparison the record of various appointments of Negro citizens made by Governor Dewey and his administration during his two years in office as contrasted with federal appointments made by President Roosevelt and the Democratic Administration during the past twelve years and with the appointments of Franklin Roosevelt during his four years as Governor of New York.

DEWEY SENDS CHALLENGING MESSAGE TO NEW YORK LEGISLATURE!

With characteristic courage, Governor Thomas E. Dewey refused to sidestep the issue of racial justice and fairness in New York.

10-26-44

The following are excerpts from Governor Dewey's legislative message dealing exclusively with this problem.

"Over a period of years, sincere and constructive but piecemeal efforts have been made by legislation to eliminate racial and religious discrimination among our people. We have learned something of the ways to combat these divisive forces and we have acquired much knowledge of the background of the forces which bring them into being. We are far short, however, of having established either a fundamental policy or a system of law which adequately meets the problem as a whole.

10-26-44

"Today, out of the intensified emotions brought on by war bigotry, intolerance and discrimination have been displayed in many ugly forms. Partly due to the long depression from 1929 to 1939 and partly due to the vicious totaliarian trends elsewhere in the world, we have seen a rising discord between men of differing race, color and creed. A free society must take adequate measures to meet such discord and to foster understanding and unity. No society can remain free if class is arrayed against class or group against group.

10-26-44

"I, therefore, recommend to your Honorable Bodies the creation of a temporary State Commission to make a study of the entire subject of discrimination in our State and that the Commission be sufficiently large to include in its membership, legislators, representatives of industry, labor, various minority groups and others. It should be empowered to make forthwith a study of existing laws and to prepare recommendations which will give to our people an established basic policy aimed at eliminating discrimination in the social and economic structure of our State."

10-26-44

As a result of this message New York has enacted a law setting up a Commission on Discrimination, headed by Assemblyman Irving M. Ives with former United States Attorney Charles H. Tuttle as Counsel, to attack discrimination in the social and economic structure of New York State.

Harlem for FDR; Task Is to Get Out the Vote

Daily Worker 11-4-44

New York, N.Y.

By JOSH LAWRENCE

Harlem has about 115,000 potential votes for Roosevelt. Whether or not this maximum figure will be realized, and it can be, depends particularly upon the activity of the trade unionists in these next few days. As yet, the force of those trade unionists who actually live in Harlem has not been fully felt.

It is the last spurt, the staying power that counts. During registration a magnificent job was done, accounting for a 20 percent higher registration figure for Harlem than in 1940.

11-4-44

UNITY FOR ROOSEVELT

Harlem is a Roosevelt community. The issues have been made clear. Every responsible organization has participated in a real non-partisan campaign. The NAACP, the church organizations, the People's Committee, Communist Political Association, the Carver School and particularly the educational activity of the National Negro Congress and the Negro Labor Victory Committee have all served to clarify the issues. In addition, the courageous leadership of Dr. Channing Tobias, the first of many national Republican figures to place country above party, has driven home to many the need for Roosevelt to be reelected. In Harlem, record against record, issue against issue, Dewey hasn't a chance. His words totter against Roosevelt's deeds and program.

The Dewey crowd feels it will lose Harlem. During registration the GOP created confusion designed to keep down the registration. The wrath of the people, many of them old time voters, put a stop to the delaying tactics. The present GOP campaign is to intimidate the large percentage of first voters, many of whom spent long hours of study to pass the literacy test. This intimidation must be stopped and made to rebound on the instigators—the Dewey machine. The desperation of the Dewey crowd is so great that they have introduced what nobody has dared to do in Harlem for years, red-baiting and attacks on the trade unions to divided the Negro people.

GET OUT THE VOTE

11-4-44

The job is now to get out the vote. Harlem's vote is not confused. It can more than make up for the votes lost in those sections of the city where confusion sown by the Dewey crowd has taken hold. But this maximum job can only be done if the trade unionists who live in the community step up the tempo of work.

New York N.Y.

WE NEED ELECTION WORKERS

There is a large membership of many unions living here. These unions should take special steps to rally their membership. The educational job has been done, the issues are clear, but to guarantee the turn-out and offset the present disfranchisement of voters through intimidation, labor's non-partisan political arm, the American Labor Party, must have hundreds of additional workers from now through election day in Harlem.

We need watchers. There are five ALP clubs in Harlem proper and every trade unionist should be working out of the one nearest his home. The Negro Labor Victory Committee, at 308 W. 125th St., will provide information to all those who can devote time in Harlem to guarantee an overwhelming Roosevelt vote.

Daily Worker

In addition labor should participate in the great ALP Roosevelt-Wagner meeting at the Golden Gate tomorrow (Sunday) at 3:30 p.m., with Sen. Wagner speaking in person.

New Times

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

Roosevelt-Haters And Religious Prejudice

WHEN Democratic National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan and Republican National Chairman Herbert Brownell jointly pledged to the National Conference of Christians and Jews that no racial or religious prejudice would be injected into the election campaign by either side, it was enthusiastically welcomed, I'm sure, by the

9-24-44

overwhelming majority of Americans, irrespective of party label.

Strict adherence to the agreement would help the campaign from dropping to a low level and would tend to keep the issue from becoming a political football. It would also curb incitements to racial hatred, division and strife at a time when Americans should be united, their minds free to weigh objectively the concrete issues facing the nation in this unprecedented crisis.

Alas, it seems that it was too good to be true. Religious prejudice, in shocking ugliness, has been injected into the campaign. Responsibility for raising this issue lies heavily upon the national leadership of the Republican Party.

9-24-44

SUCH prejudice was introduced against Jewish citizens in two notorious instances. During the recent primary elections in upstate New York, Ham Fish, political intimate

by Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

of the convicted Nazi perjurer George Sylvester Viereck, made a reference to Jewish voters of his congressional district, which was so openly anti-Semitic that Gov. Dewey rebuked him, although Dewey carefully refrained from repudiating Fish's pro-fascist isolationist views.

Fish, who is in the GOP inner councils, did not disown Dewey nor did he retract his anti-Semitic views, a fact which indicates that Fish finds comfort for those views among Dewey's powerful Chicago Tribune supporters. Fish is the ranking Republican member of the House Rules Committee, a post sufficiently strategic for him to be identified with the national leadership of the GOP. Every American in Fish's district is compelled to work for his defeat on Nov. 7, on the elementary issue of religious equality, if on no other, because Fish raised it.

9-24-44

The second example is the Republican billboards in Pittsburgh, Pa., which read: "This is your country. Why let Sidney Hillman run it? Vote for Dewey and Bricker." The vicious and lying implication of this is that Mr. Hillman, an American citizen, is a foreigner, and it contains a sly hint of the same anti-Semitism, which Fish blurted out more openly. Mr. Hannegan brought the anti-foreign-born slur to the attention of Mr. Brownell, referring to their joint agreement. But the reply he has received is a continuation of this foul method of campaigning on the part of national Republican orators, including the blatantly ignorant speeches of Gov. Bricker.

* * *

A DIVISION of labor seems to exist in the anti-Roosevelt camp. The southern polltax Democrats who hate the President are baiting the Negroes; the northern Republicans are deliberately employing ambiguous tactics bearing overtones of anti-Semitism. The whole prgoressive course of the President has been against the southern polltax wing of his own party, precisely on issues affecting Negroes. That's why the polltaxers hate him and want him defeated.

But the Republican leaders have neither repudiated nor opposed the Pittsburgh billboard tactics—they are encouraging them. Meantime, Dewey and Bricker are the eager and intended benefactors of the conspiracy of the Negro-hating southern polltaxers to throw the election to the Republican nominees by illegally perverting their states' electoral votes.

9-24-44

Anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism go together. Are the Roosevelt-haters so bankrupt on the real issues of victory and postwar security that they must resort to such disgraceful tactics? Will the Republican leaders continue to countenance the "racial and religious hatred" which their own platform and pledges condemn? He who sows the wind, shall reap the whirlwind.

Texas Negroes in Forefront for FDR

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

By DAVID CARPENTER

10-22-44

HOUSTON, Texas.—This critical election campaign has brought political maturity to the Negro people of Texas. Awakened to the responsibility of the Negro voters in this election by the recognition of the issues involved and encouraged by the reaction of the Negro people and the white citizens of Texas to the participation of the Negro voters in the July 22 Democratic primary, a well-knit organization to bring out the Negro voters for Roosevelt on Nov. 7, has been perfected in this state.

529

Established under the leadership of Attorney W. J. Durham, chairman of the executive committee, and C. U. Franklin, president, this organization, which has been named the Texas Club of Democratic Voters, can become an exemplary model for the political activities of Negro voters throughout the nation.

10-22-44

With an avowed purpose of all-out support of Roosevelt for reelection and complete adherence to the pro-Roosevelt forces which won control of the state Democratic machine in the Sept. 12 convention, the Texas Club of Democratic Voters has already launched its campaign in 43 counties wherein the Negro vote is substantial. Not only is the club actively organizing the Negro voters, but it is carrying on an independent campaign to raise its own funds to make possible its organizational work.

With outstanding community leaders at their head, block committees for mobilizing the Negro voters have been established already in 16 of the larger cities of Texas, including Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Galveston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, Corpus Christi, Waco, Austin, Wichita Falls, Corsicana and San Antonio. Typical of the kind of work being carried on is the activity in Dallas, where, out of approximately 120 percincts, 61 now have committees of Negro voters affiliated to the Texas Club of Democratic Voters.

The aid of the churches and leading community organizations has been enlisted for the drive among Texas Negroes for Roosevelt.

10-22-44

Special emphasis has been placed by the leaders of the Club throughout the state on activity to counteract the fear among Negro voters that they will be subjected to intimidation and terrorism if they appear at the polls on Nov. 7. This is a basic problem among the Negro voters, who have suffered from this in the past and do not yet understand the changes that have occurred in Texas.

The Negro people of Texas are determined to take their place in the political life of the state and are making an all-out effort in this campaign. That they will not be hindered by the white Democrats in playing their role may be seen in the fact that when seven of the new State Democratic Executive Committee of 34 members were asked recently whether they would favor measures by the Texas Democratic Party to circumvent the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court and bar Negroes from the Democratic party, they expressed opposition to such a maneuver.

10-22-44

Detroit Negroes Are Eager to Register

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

By HARRY FAINARU

DETROIT.—A thrilling spectacle occurred at Clinton Park, outside the polling booth of Ward 11, District 3, in heart of the Negro community, when hundreds of citizens stood in line to register for the crucial Nov. 7 elections. Men, women and young people, auto workers, laundry workers and housewives grinned as they exchanged opinion over the first non-partisan victory wrested from the hands of the City Election Commission, which finally opened an election booth and sent a number of registrars into this section of the city, the first experiment of its kind.

9-24-44

When the booth opened at 7:30 p.m., 55 citizens were already in line. And the line kept swelling. John Tucker who hadn't voted for two years was glad of this opportunity and told your correspondent that he would vote for "the man who gave us bread when we were walking around."

9-24-44

Mrs Eva Haslaen, a stately old lady who takes care of her daughter's children and their household while her daughter, Rosabelle Murner, earns a living in a laundry, was elated over the opertunity to vote for President Roosevelt. Morris Browning, who works at the Buhl plant, feels that the Negro people will overwhelmingly vote for FDR. "He is a good friend of the Negro people," he added. "If the city would open up these polling booths all over the city, you would see a really outpouring of our citizens."

When I left the park at 930, registrars were still busy. Credit must go to the various patriotic and civic-minded organizations which helped mobilize the people for the successful "experiment." The Political Action Committee of the CIO, the First Congressional District of the Democratic Party and the Frederic Douglass Club of the Michigan Communist Political Association participated in this fine work.

9-24-44

Bob King's Negro band brought out the children in the neighborhood and the young and the PAC brought the sound car and movies.

This work was done under the leadership of Horace Shaffield, a Negro union leader, International Representative of the United Auto Workers. Mrs. Josephine Belford, a prominent woman leader of the Democratic Party congratulated the people for their patriotic cooperation and asserted: "If the people are given a chance, look what happens." Mrs. Audley Moore, vice-president of the Michigan CPA, appealed to the Negro voters, irrespective of their party affiliation, to vote "for our Commander-in-Chief on Nov. 7."

DEAN OF BAPTISTS JOINS DEWEY!

The Union — Cincinnati, Ohio

10-12-44

New York — Republican National Committee Chairman, Herbert Brownell, Jr., announced tiday the appointment of Dr. George H. Sims, pastor of the Union Baptist Church of Harlem, as Assistant Director of Special Activities of the Republican National Committee. Dr. Sims is recognized as the dean of colored Baptists in the nation, not only in length of service, but in constructive civic and church work. He is the head of the New York State Baptist Ministers Association.

529

Dr. Sims, when interviewed at his busy parish institution in the heart of Harlem, said: 'The future welfare not only of my people, but of the mass of Americans, depends upon our putting now, a courageous and capable executive in the White House. The next president must be above all, a president of all the people, not bound by sectional, bloc or corrupt political machine ties. ***

10-12-44

"Dewey will free the country from this three-headed incubus. He will usher in an era of peace, at home as well as abroad, and prosperity for all."

52a-1944

DR. TOBIAS CHARGES DEWEY KILLED STATE FEPC BILL TO KEEP SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN DELEGATES IN LINE

Age — New York, N. Y. 10-21-44

10-21-44

Addressing a register-to-vote rally at the Golden Gate Ballroom last Tuesday night, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt told 5,000 cheering citizens, "You in New York and in this section of New York especially should fulfill your responsibility of helping to build democracy by registering and voting. Her plea was greeted with resounding cries of "Yes& Yes!" from the audience.

52a

The meeting was sponsored by the National Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Roosevelt headed by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune in cooperation with the National Non-Partisan League for the Reelection of Roosevelt, of which John Sengstacke, editor of the Chicago Defender, is chairman. Charles Browning represented Mr. Sengstacke at the meeting and called for complete unity between the two national organizations in support of the President's reelection.

Tobias Creates Sensation

10-21-44

Sensational disclosures were made by Dr. Channing Tobias concerning Governor Dewey's reasons for killing the Wicks bills which could have created a "FEPC" for New York State. At the time the bills were being considered, a high State official told Dr. Tobias that "The Governor wants to be President and before he can be President he must have the nomination"; and that he would not permit the Wicks anti-discrimination bills to pass at this time for fear of alienating the support of Southern Republicans at the coming GOP National Convention.

Dr. Tobias, a life-long Republican and a member of the National Non-Partisan Committee, concluded "I say we cannot trust this man (Dewey) to administer a permanent FEPC law for the nation if it is passed."

Bishop R. R. Wright, of Ohio, also a member of the National Non-Partisan Committee and chairman of the newly formed Churchmen-for-Roosevelt Committee, outlined the detailed gains of the Negro people during the past 12 years and urged the Negro people to give overwhelming support for the continuance of policies that have made these gains possible 10-21-44

Mrs. Bethune, who presided over the meeting, lauded both President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt and called for their return to the White House. Also addressing the meeting were Rev. A. Clayton Powell, jr., novelist Fannie Hurst, and Mrs. Louise McDonald, chairman of the Non-Partisan Registration Committee.

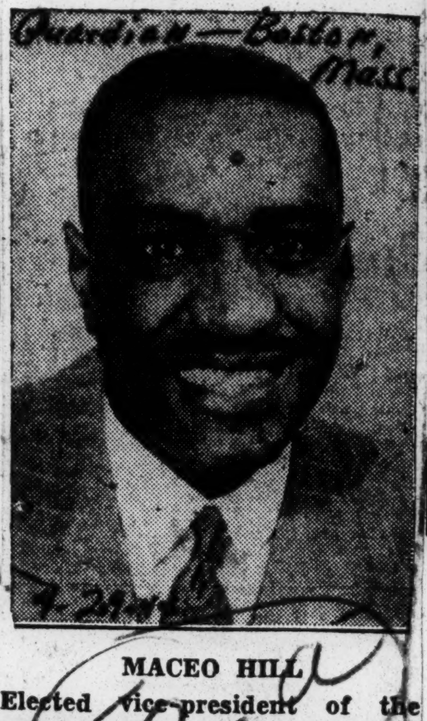
Anne Brown, star of "Porgy and Bess," and Kenneth Spencer, just returned from a USO tour in the South Pacific, sang several songs. Mr. Spencer electrified the audience by beginning with "Happy Birthday To You" in honor of Mrs. Roosevelt, revealing that October 10th was the First Lady's birthday.

10-21-44

Registration volunteer cards distributed to the audience yielded the names and addresses of approximately 600 citizens who agreed to canvass their neighborhood during the week for maximum registration.

On Bricker's Staff

Guardian — Boston, Mass.



7-29-44

MACEO HILL

Elected vice-president of the Ohio League of Young Republicans at their convention in Columbus, Ohio last week. Hill is on the publicity staff of Gov. John W. Bricker, who is a candidate for U. S. President.

LEADERS CONFER WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Defender — Chicago, Ill. 10-7-44

10-7-44

52a

Leaving White House are the three Negro leaders who conferred with President Roosevelt Friday. The trio described their visit as a "strictly non-political visit." Left to right, are: Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, field secretary fo: Negro work in the YMCA.

Powell to Congress

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

Beats Mrs. Speaks in 2 Primaries

8-11-44

By CARL D. LAWRENCE

NEW YORK.—(ANP) — The Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., militant pastor of the world-famed Abyssinian church and undisputed political leader of Harlem's 400,000 Negroes, was ready to personally direct the campaign to reelect President Roosevelt here in the East this week after being nominated for congress by both major parties.

The handsome young minister, opposed in the Democratic and Republican party primaries by Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, a lawyer, won overwhelmingly in practically every district. He was also nominated by the American labor party.

8-11-44

Opposed in November

In the GOP race, the Rev. Powell, who refers to himself as an independent, received three times as many votes as Mrs. Speaks, who is an avowed Republican.

News of the Rev. Powell's desire to handle the Democratic party campaign "leaked out" when it became known that, because of the three-way nomination, he would be unopposed in the November election.

8-11-44

A. C. POWELL JR.

His chief aide, Joseph Ford, declined to confirm this report but this reporter's informant is usually correct. On the eve of last Tuesday's primary, the Rev. Powell suddenly became ill and was ordered "to take a rest" at his summer home, Oak Bluffs, Mass. As a result, he was unable to vote.

When the final tally on his brilliant victory was announced, however, reporters were dramatically summoned by Abyssinian church where a press conference was carried on by long distance telephone.

Questions were submitted to Mr. Ford and read over the phone by a stenographer.

8-11-44

Predicts F. D. R. Victory

The Rev. Powell stated, in response to some queries, that President Roosevelt would be re-elected, that he would support the Democratic side of the house of representatives, that his victory was "A People's Victory," that his secretary in Washington would be a young woman who had acted in that capacity for Abyssinian church for the past 14 years, that he intended to remain as pastor of the world's largest Protestant church.

Asked if his three-way nomination meant the political end of leaders like Herbert L. Bruce, Tammany boss of the new 12th assembly district; and Harold C. Burton, Republican leader of the same district, the Rev. Powell said:

8-11-44

"I did not deal in personalities during the campaign and I refuse to do so now."

Born on November 29, 1908, in New Haven, Conn., Adam Clayton Powell Jr., received his elementary training in the public schools of New York and later finished Colgate and Columbia universities. After receiving his D.D. at Shaw university in 1938, he studied in Europe, Africa and Asia Minor before being named as pastor of Abyssinian church.

Besides his church, civic, fraternal and political activities, the Rev. Powell is editor and co-publisher of The People's Voice, Harlem's only tabloid newspaper.

In a prepared statement issued Wednesday, he said:

"There will never be any real victory nor lasting peace until the rights of Negro men are recognized on an equal basis along with the rights of all men.

"The future of the labor movement, organized religion and political democracy is inextricably linked up with the future of the Negro people. 8-11-44

"I will protest openly the defamation or attempted defamation of any group or individual because of race, religion or creed." I will work for the complete intergration of Negroes and all oppressed members of this democracy in the main stream of the life of this nation.

Nominated for the state assembly by the Democrats were Assemblyman William T. Andrews, who won by less than 300 votes over Mrs. Ruth Brown Price; William Prince of the 11th Assembly district, and Assemblyman Hulen Jack of the 14th.

The Republicans nominated Atty. Philip Watson, Mrs. A. Hockey Hughes and Lassen Walsh, a lawyer also.

Dewey Bids For Race Vote

Courier - Pittsburgh, Pa.

9-16-44

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) —Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican presidential candidate, in his first real campaign speech, delivered in Philadelphia last week, and heard throughout the Nation over the radio, made a specific bid for Negro votes when he said:

"There can be—there must be—jobs and opportunity for all, without discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin." The last phrase is the same wording used in the Executive Orders 8802 and 9346 banning discrimination in war industries and Government, and creating the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Mr. Dewey said further, "there must be jobs in industry, in agriculture, in mines, in stores, in offices, at a high level of wages and salaries. There must be opportunity and incentive for men and women to go into business for themselves."

Dewey and the Negro

Amsterdam News - New York, N.Y.

Republican Presidential Nominee Thomas E. Dewey has been shooting from the hip during the past ten days with racial and religious prejudice as the target of his blasting. From what he has said and done, Negroes and other minority groups should feel reassured. They should be able to take heart that their interests will be adequately served with Mr. Dewey in the White House.

8-12-44

First Governor Dewey blazed away with the flat declaration that, "anyone who injects a racial or religious issue into a political campaign is guilty of a disgraceful and un-American act. I have always fought that kind of thing all my life and always will regardless of partisan considerations. I have never accepted support of any such individual and I never shall."

Next, Governor Dewey, in addressing a group at Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Ill., said: "It is a fitting occasion to renew our determination to bring complete equality of opportunity of life in America to all the Negro people."

Then, later in St. Louis, Governor Dewey was even more explicit as to his position with respects to Negroes. After expressing complete approval of the planks in the Republican Platform concerning Negroes, the Governor said the Negro question had not come up for discussion at the Governors' conference because there was "no conflict between Federal and State authority on Negro planks in the platform and therefore, there was no necessity to discuss them with governors to reconcile differences."

Pointing to his accomplishments in New York State toward the complete integration of Negroes into the life of the State, Governor Dewey outlined his basic theory of racial equality, and mentioned several history-making appointments he has made.

8-12-44

"There has been no picking of people because they are Negroes or Jews or Protestants", he said, "but because they are good."

Mr. Dewey said that he is not one to make promises but that his actions in the past should be an index of his attitude of the race question.

"When the Republicans go to Washington in January," he said, "the policy of appointing persons according to merit and not race will be continued. The important thing," Mr. Dewey added, "is what a person is, not who the parents were.

Dewey Outlines His Theory On Equality

Amsterdam News - New York, N.Y.

8-12-44

ST. LOUIS—A group of 40 Negro leaders of Missouri who met with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York in a 30 minute conference here at the Hotel Statler Friday morning were favorably impressed with the Republican Presidential nominee and freely predicted that he can carry Missouri in November despite the "Native Son" Vice-Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket.

William O. McCahon, general manager of the Industrial Home for Negro Girls at Tipton, Mo., said Harry S. Truman's being on the Democratic ticket will help Gov Dewey to carry Missouri.

The governor said that he was not one to make promises, but that his actions in the past indicated his atttiude on the race question. When the Republicans go to Washington in January, he said, the policy of appointing persons according to merit and not on race will be continued.

8-12-44

"The important thing," the GOP nominee declared, "is what a person is, not who the parents were. The failure of the Democrats to put a respectable plank on Negroes in their platform is a shocking surrender and shows that they are concerned only in whatever is profitable politically at the moment."

Gov. Dewey said he is proud of the planks in the Republican platform which were adopted without a ripple of opposition.

The Negro meeting was one of a dozen or more scheduled half-hour conferences arranged for Gov Dewey Friday, following two-day conferences with Republican governors here Wednesday and Thursday. Sessions of the conferences with the governors were closed to the press and to the public, but daily press conferences were held. Reporters from the Afro-American, the Pittsburgh Courier, the Kansas City Call, the St. Louis Argus and the St. Louis American were present.

8-12-44

At his first conference with the press, Gov. Dewey outlined 14 points on his agenda and a reporter from the Call asked whether the subject of racial minorities would be taken up by the governors. Mr Dewey answering, said that since there was no conflict between federal and state authority on Negro planks in the platform, there was no necessity to discuss them as the purpose of the conference with the governors was to reconcile differences between the authority of federal, state and local governments.

Following the conference, Negroes made comments on their impressions of Gov. Dewey. Said the Rev. Jasper C. Caston, pastor Memorial Baptist church, and alderman of the City of St. Louis: "I am 1,000 per cent behind Dewey. I like the man, know his record and acquainted with the men associated with him. They are all 100 per cent There is no veneer about Dewey. He is the same year in and year out. Dewey is not afraid of Negroes. He has got to win."

Asked whether he implied that Roosevelt is afraid of Negroe, Caston said: "Ask Roosevelt to have his picture taken with them."

Dewey posed for sound and still pictures with Negroes and opened the conference by shaking hands with each person in the room after introductions by William Morant, Republican leader who arranged the conference.

8-12-44

Dr. J. R. A. Crossland of St. Joseph, who came to St. Louis for the conference with Dewey, said that he has followed Dewey's record for 12 years and that he is impressed with his appointment of Negroes on their merit. "Negroes of Missouri will support Dewey with patriotic fervor, faith infallible and purpose undivided. The 1944 election will see Negroes rallying under his leadership." Dr. Crossland is a former U. S. minister to Liberia.

William Morant, Republican leader in St. Louis, said that Negroes received from Dewey the finest reception ever received from any person who aspired to the presidency. He says Dewey is bound to win.

Sidney R. Redmond, attorney, said: "Everyone was favorably impressed with the forthright position of Governor Dewey."

Attorney Harvey Tucker, president of the 23rd Ward Republican Club, said: "Dewey is all right. His attitude on the appointment of Negroes to office in New York is sane and sound. He considers all citizens alike and makes appointments on a basis of merit. I agree with his policy as Negroes want no special consideration." 8-12-44

Charles E. Robinson of Jefferson City, director of the Negro division of the State Board of Health and leading state Republican, said that the Negroes of Missouri are completely satisfied with Dewey and that it will be best for America if Dewey is elected President. "His record speaks for itself."

"Others who attended the conference and expressed confidence in Dewey's election included Rev. Russell Brown, pastor of St. Paul's A. M. E. Church; Judge Crittenden E. Clark, former justice of the peace; James A. Cook, executive secretary, Pine Street Y. M. C. A.; Barney Bemis, business man; Bige Wyatt. taxicab owner; Rev. W. D. Wilkins. pastor Wayman Temple; Dean William E. Taylor, Lincoln University Law School; U. S. Falls, National Business League, Langston Harrison, Sixty ard Republican leader; Dr. W. S. Christain, A. W. Lloyd, former Grand Chancellor the Knights of Pythias; Henry D. Espey lawyer; Mrs. Benjamin E. King Rev. W. A. Cooper, pastor Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church; Rev. D. L. Langford, William W Morman, Mound City Medical Society; Dr. La Jean Blythe, Mrs. Virginia Reece, Prof. G. D. Brantly principal Sumner High School; Attorney Harry Bracy, proseucting attorney's office; Rev. W. B. Christian, superintendent Homer Phillips Hospital; N. A. Sweets, publisher, St. Louis American.

Negroes' Choice Clear —James Ford

The Worker - New York, N.Y.

11-5-44

By JAMES W. FORD

The most crucial election that has faced the nation comes to a close next Tuesday, and on that day the American people will vote for issues and candidates that will determine the destiny of our country for many years to come. The Negro people also with all other Americans have a great stake in this election.

Franklin D. Roosevelt symbolizes that which is progressive, the best traditions of our country and is putting the breath of life into them. Roosevelt is leading the country along a path that assures years of peace and prosperity.

Thomas E. Dewey symbolizes all that is rotten, decaying and dying. The GOP Presidential candidate represents those reactionary forces that would destroy democracy itself, break up the unity of the peoples and armies of the United Nations, prolong the war and give fascism a new lease on life.

The choice for the Negro people is clear.

11-5-44

They have made advances of vast historical significance under President Roosevelt, and in alliance with labor and progressive forces have become a great source of democratic strength to the nation.

They must continue their march of progress behind President Roosevelt to win the war and the peace, and play a greater democratic role after the war in contributing to the solution of the problems of the colored peoples throughout the world.

I feel sure the Negro people will reject Dewey and all that he represents and in their overwhelming numbers turn out to reelect President Roosevelt on Nov. 7.

52a-1944

We Told You So

Tribune—Washington, D. C.

The returns from the key States show that the Negro vote could have swung the election to Governor Dewey. We warned the Governor in our October 14 issue that he had the Negro vote on his back and was doing funny tricks. We warned him to straighten up and fly right or the noose would tighten and choke him out of the presidency. 11-11-44

Governor Dewey and the rest of the politicians should learn from his defeat that Negroes cannot be expected to vote for men who pick the wrong persons to handle their campaigns.

With Dr. Powell and Justice Rivers heading up the Negro activities of Mr. Dewey's campaign and giving no heed to those who had the pulse beat and spoke the language of the people, we saw no chance for the Republican nominee to get the Negro vote.

It is high time that white people stop choosing Negro leaders. The most responsive organization in Negro life is the Negro church and we attributed this to the fact that it picks its own leader and when a preacher in one of these gets to the place he cannot follow the dictates of his communicants he is let out.

Mr. Brownell was warned about this evil at the Republican National Convention. We are led to believe that he felt the voters had no right that he should respect. He rather chose to have two trained experts than the Negro votes. He still has the two experts, but President Roosevelt got the votes.

Negroes are no longer going to follow a leader to church, to the polls, or any other place, who does not have the common touch. Negroes are tired of the leadership that struts around, ignoring them, until such time as they want something and then decide that they are their friends. 11-11-44

The Republican Party and all other organizations must decide that if the Negro is good enough to vote for their candidates that they are good enough to choose the persons who are going to handle the campaigns.

Lincoln died in 1865, Frederick Douglass left a fine legacy for Negroes to inherit, but the 20th century Negro voter, while he adores Lincoln and admires Douglass, feels that the debt of allegiance for past accomplishments has been paid and now say that the Republican party can only lure him by giving him real leadership and by candidates who have his interest at heart. Another warning, Republican Party—WE TOLD YOU SO.

Wanted–A GOP Negro

Defender—Chicago. Ill.

Paper—$100 Reward

10-28-44

NEW YORK—The Republican party believes $100 can buy out the Negro press.

An attempted bribe by the GOP to gain support of the Negro press was slapped back by a disgusted newspaper here this week.

The Republican National Committee's desperate bid for support from the independent pro-Roosevelt New York Age was revealed here in an expose by PM.

Returning the $100 check sent to his paper by the GOP to purchase news space, Ludlow W. Warner, editor of the Age, ripped the GOP's bribe and suggested they spend the money for advertisement.

"The New York Age is not in the habit of allowing anyone to dictate what it shall publish or not publish and does not at this time intend to vary from its policy," Warner told the GOP committee. 10-28-44

The arrogant, assumptious letter sent to the Age by C. B. Powell, assistant director of GOP publicity and editor of Harlem's pro-Dewey Amsterdam News, was regarded here as indicating the cheap contempt in which Republicans hold Negro voters.

Our Budget Provides

Dated September 30, 1944, the letter stated:

"Our budget, as provided by the Republican National Committee, permits us to purchase $100 worth of space in your valuable newspaper for the issue of October 7. Publicity copy will be forwarded to you under separate cover.

"Enclosed please find our check in the above amount.

"We are particularly interested in the publication of the following copy which you will receive:

1. List of appointments by Governor Dewey.
2. Announcement of the Pittsburgh Courier's advocacy of the Dewey-Bricker ticket.

Then in a final paragraph which is believed to have aroused the disgust and indignation of the Age editor, the GOP slush-fund letter stated: 10-28-44

Gets Ultimatum

"Continuation of the purchase of space in your paper will contingent upon your cooperation and the position given our publicity copy . . ."

"Please send receipted bill for the enclosed check."

Instead of a "receipted bill," the enclosed check was sent promptly back on Oct. 2 with the following advice:

"If you wish to have advertising inserted, then I would suggest that you contact our advertising department, which is responsible for advertising . . .

"In the meantime, please be advised that neither now nor in the future do we intend to allow the Republican National Committee, or any other committee, group or individual to dictate to us what our policy should be as to use or non-use of publicity copy." 10-28-44

Feel Sorry for GOP

Meanwhile, political observers here expressed pity that the GOP, the party of "big business," could not entice "little business" Negro newspapers into supporting their States' Rights candidate.

These observers felt that any Negro newspaper who wished to hinder the progress of colored people could do so by earning a $100 from the GOP. Address of the Republican National Committee is 45 E. 45th street, New York, 17, N. Y.

By Doxey Wilkerson

JUST look at the Roosevelt record in the South.

1. Early in the "New Deal," the President characterized the South as the "Number One Economic Problem of the Nation," fought to defeat several of its reactionary Senators, and called its plantation system of exploitation "feudalistic."

2. The President's program of southern agricultural reform and industrialization are undermining the very foundations of Bourbon rule. 10-30-44

3. The President introduced the policy of "no discrimination on grounds of race" into federal policy for the first time, and fought for its application in the South.

4. The President created FEPC, and continues to uphold its directives, even in the South.

5. The President's **federal** programs of low-cost housing and social security are bringing enormous benefits to southern Negroes which strict state-control (such as that advocated by Dewey-Republicans and reactionary southern Democrats) would restrict almost exclusively to white southerners.

6. The souther labor movement is growing by leaps and bounds, thanks to the President's progressive policies; and it is coming more and more to take up the struggle for Negro democratic rights.

"White Supremacy" And the Election

7. The Roosevelt-appointed Supreme Court this year outlawed the "white primary" bar against Negro voting rights, completely reversing the 1935 decision of the Republican-appointed Supreme Court. 10-30-44

8. The President has been outspoken in his condemnation of the polltax (and does not seek to avoid the issue, as the Dewey-Republicans do, through proposing a constitutional amendment they know cannot be passed).

9. One by one, a long line of Negro-hating southern reactionaries (Garner, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Talmadge, Dies, Starnes, Caraway, etc.) are being retired from public life by the pro-Roosevelt forces in the South.

10. Many thousands of Negro citizens are registering and voting in the South for the first time in their lives.

11. The two-thirds rule by which southern Democrats long held veto power over the selection of Democratic presidential nominees was broken by the Roosevelt Administration.

12. And Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (probably far more than can be expected from Mrs. Frances Dewey, of Texas, wife of the GOP candidate) has consistently defied southern racial prejudices, never hesitating to speak and act according to the democratic principles in which she believes. 10-30-44

It is easy to understand why the Talmadges and Smiths and Johnsons and their ilk are bolting the party of Roosevelt and throwing their support to the Republican candidate.

HOW TO VOTE

Tribune—Savannah, Ga.

11-2-44

Before we go to press again, the people will have chosen the next president of the United States. What are the factors which influence voters in making their choice? The Roosevelt administration—the New Deal—has done these things: It has inaugurated many needed social reforms, such as social security for workers and the aged; the AAA for the benefit of farmers, the PWA and WPA through which came needed public construction and needed unemployment relief, the FHA and HOLC by means of which came slum clearance, housing for people of low income, low mortgage rates which permitted people of moderate income to build homes, and provision for making needed repairs to homes and saving homes from foreclosure. Directive 8802 was issued by the President and made functional by his appointment of the FEPC The President has appointed more capable Negroes to positions of responsibility than all previous administrations taken together. This record is a challenge to the gratitude and loyalty of Negro voters.

However, on the other side of the ledger are these foreboding facts: in none of the agencies mentioned above did Negroes have even equitable representation. The agencies were administered, especially in the South, by local boards which vitiated the intention of the federal government by employing the usual discriminatory practices in dealing with Negroes. 11-2-44 Secondly, nearly all powerful congressional committees were headed by conservative

Democrats who kept a watchful eye on any legislation which might benefit Negroes, and who threatened to abolish the FEPC. This same bloc of democrats defeated the passage of the Anti-lynching Bill and the Anti-poll Tax Bill, both of which were of vital importance to Negroes. Added to all of this is the discriminatory treatment of Negroes in the armed forces. This is a part of the record.

On the other hand, the Republican party has little to show on the side of accomplishment. We must go back to another Roosevelt to find anything to recommend the party to the Negro voter. 11-2-44

The Republican candidate has made substantial appointments of Negroes to positions of responsibility in the state of New York. On the other side of the ledger, things look no better. A Republican's activity defeated the Education Bill and Republicans collaborated with conservative Democrats to defeat the Anti-poll Tax Bill. With it all The Tribune is recommending the support of Dewey and Bricker and the Republican party.

All Over The World

Wrld—Memphis, Tenn.

The American people returned President Roosevelt to a fourth term last Tuesday by a clear majority; thus giving to him an unmistakable mandate to finish the war and to write the kind of peace against which future bloodshed and carnage shall be guarded all over the world..

11-10-44

Our readers hardly need to be reminded that this paper views Tuesday's verdict and outcome with genuine satisfaction and with deep significance, in America and all over the world.

It means that the American people have decided that they were not yet ready for a change. It means that they were not unduly alarmed over the charge that Communism is about to take over our system of Government. It means that the people prefer an old, experienced world leader, to the young, inexperienced and untried visionary. And it means, above all else, that the policy of splendid isolationism as espoused and pursued by the Republican Party, is not the will and verdict of the American people.

We submit that there are faults to be found with the Roosevelt administration, both on domestic issues and matters of foreign policy. We submit with equal candor that colored Americans have honest and pressing greivances against their Government at Washington. Over the years we have never hesitated to point to this sometime, plain derelection of duty toward Negroes, especially our men in the armed services. We shall continue to point out these faults. But all the arguments against a fourth term for Roosevelt faded into insignificance when measured against the disadvantages of a first term for Thomas E. Dewey.

11-10-44

First of all, Mr. Dewey lacked the scope of vision, the breadth and depth of knowledge, and the background of sobering experience-characteristics so imperative for any American President in this crucial hour of world history. He failed to show himself as a man of profound convictions on any subject of importance to the American voter.

But worst of all, is the sorry mendacity upon which Mr. Dewey sought to appeal to the American voter. We shall be fortunate if we can heal the wounds which have been made between groups and classes by inenundo and plain falsehoods. Indeed it was a pathetic demonstration of the spirit and intent of entrenched wealth, Monopoly and what they call "free enterprise". But in like manner, the re-election of President Roosevelt is a clear determination on the part of the common people, the poor, unprivileged American people, to end here and now, the greed for wealth and power at the expense of human misery.

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

A Welcome Repudiation

Perhaps no single piece of news coming out of recent elections, save that of the President himself, will be received with more genuine satisfaction that the news of the defeat of most of the members of the notorious Dies Committee on Un-American Activities. We can think of no group in Washington whose work has been more widely condemned nor whose motives have been more thoroughly discredited by the American people.

11-19-44

Congressman Dies, whose failure to offer for re-election has been widely heraled as an advancing step in the direction toward democracy. He used his Committee to harass and to embarrass honest and faithful American citizens. He steadfastly refused to inquire into the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and his indictment of distinguished Negro citizens like Dr. Channing Tobias, Mary McLeod Bethune and Walter White, is a ridiculous melange, attesting to the insincerity of the Committee.

Now that the American people have relegated most of its members to seats on the sidelines, let us fervently pray that it shall not be resurrected again. For it was truly the despair of upstanding American citizens and the shame of the entire Country.

11-19-44

Pittsburgh Crowds Brave Rainstorm To Hear Dewey

Amsterdam News—New York, N.Y.

10-28-44

Presidential Nominee Asserts That Negro Must Enjoy Expanding Economy

(Amsterdam News Staff Correspondence)

PITTSBURGH—Governor Thomas Dewey, G. O. P. Presidential nominee, told a delegation of Negro leaders here last Friday that a vital expanding economy is one of the safest guarantees that the Negro, along with all other groups, will be assured jobs and opportunity to get ahead in this country.

The Governor was here for a speech which he delivered at Hunt Armory in East Liberty Friday night before a cheering capacity crowd of 8,500 people who braved a steady downpour of rain to hear the Republican nominee rip away at the New Deal bungling and exploitation of the working people for political gains.

10-28-44

Spokesmen for the Negro delegation, which was headed by Ira F. Lewis, president of the Pittsburgh Courier, and William J. Curtis, chairman of the Allegheny County Republican group, told reporters that they were greatly inspired by the Governor's visit. They predict that the campaign that is now in progress will unquestionably whittle down the 1940 Democratic plurality sufficiently to put Pennsylvania in the G. O. P. column in November.

"We are not going to overlook the relief that the Negro, along with other people, received in the days of the depression. But we cannot agree that a relief check or a WPA job means that the Negro has made progress, or that because he received help from his government, he must forever support the New Deal regardless of its attitude on other matters," Mr. Curtis said.

"We must have the utmost confidence in Governor Dewey," continued Mr. Curtis. "His matchless records as Governor of New York, and before that, as District Attorney of New York County, are proof positive that he believes competent Negroes should be recognized in important places in the government, and that they are entitled to all the rights and privileges of all other citizens

10-28-44

regardless of race, creed or color.

In addition to the appointment of a Negro as justice of the city court at an annual salary of $17.500 a year, Governor Dewey has appointed a Negro to the three-man State Athletic Commission, a Negro woman to the secretaryship of the all-important State Department of Labor, at $5,000 a year, Negro to the State Industrial Board at $8,500 a year, a Negro to the Workmen's Compensation Bureau at $5,000 a year, four Negroes to the State Attorney General's staff, and numerous others to policy-making jobs in the state without thought of color.

Under the leadership of Governor Dewey the race relations in the industrial field have been such that not a single strike has occurred in the State on account of racial friction in war plants.

"Our struggle still is for first-class citizenship in the Unitied States. We want to be men and women, not mere wards of the government, people whsoe economic position is exploited for political advantage," Mr. Curtis added. 10-28-44

Asserting that the New Deal has become old and stagnant, it was pointed out that the President and his party have reached a stage where they are merely trying to hang on and are stooping to an attempt to make political capital of the social service they rendered the nation in distress.

52a-1944

Poet Backs FDR; Cites WPA Aid In 'Dark Days'

Defender — Chicago, Ill.
10-28-44

(Defender New York Bureau)

NEW YORK.—Margaret Walker, the young Negro poet who made headlines when she won the Yale Award for her slender volume, "For My People," said in a statement to the National Non-Partisan League this week, "I think all Negroes should vote for President Roosevelt.

"The progressive measures of the New Deal and the whole attitude of Roosevelt and his administration have so thoroughly benefited the Negro people in this country that it would be sheer ingratitude to vote any other way," she declared.

Miss Walker, who is in New York City writing on a Rosenwald Fellowship continued vehemently: "Who suffered as we did in the dark days of the depression? I was on the Writers' Project in Chicago during those years and it was the best school I ever attended. The whole WPA program where artists were concerned was invaluable. The Theatre Project, the Arts Project, the Writers' Project!

"Then Negroes benefited from housing and adult education. The adult education program meant the ending of illiteracy for many of our people.

"We should never forget Mrs. Roosevelt's stand on the DAR when they refused to permit Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall. 10-28-44

"This is not just election year, it is the cross-roads of America. The decision will be made whether we shall go forward or whether we shall suffer a wave of reaction such as a Republican administration would bring.

"Negroes who are thoughtful will look toward the future and remember the promises of Teheran. They will bear in mind that the liberation of little peoples around the world, the colonial peoples and minorities mean better conditions for us at home. Our struggle here is tied up with the complete liberation of China and the British West Indies. Roosevelt's record is one on which we can vote with assurance and confidence. The seeds of the future are sown in the deeds of the present. What Roosevelt has done is an indication of what to hope for.

"The Republican platform and set-up do not inspire us with confidence. Hitler represents people like Hoover and Vandenburg. Consider their attitude toward labor, the soldier vote, the Negro question, everything you can suggest. Theirs is a promise of fascism in open form—the sort of reaction the Ku Klux Klan represented after the Civil War.

"And I feel that I as an artist have as much right to speak about the issues as a politician has. Dewey to me means the repression of culture. And folk who sit by and do nothing and say nothing at this crucial time are guilty of the same thing Hitler is.

10-28-44

"I went down to register this week and I'm going to vote for Roosevelt on November 7."

NON PARTISAN LEAGUE BLASTS GOP 'TRAITORS'

Defender—Chicago, Ill.
10-28-44

Flays 'Unholy Alliance' Of GOP Solons And Fascist Fourth

Denouncing the "Unholy Alliance" of Northern Republicans with native Fascists north and south, the National Non Partisan league this week emphasized that "the election of a predominantly reactionary Republican Congress will have disastrous effect upon the welfare of the Negro people."

John Sengstacke, chairman of the league, declared that the "Northern Negro voter should concentrate his fire on those reactionary Republican congressmen who solicit our votes and then collaborate with our enemies." He said:

"In areas where we have decisive balloting power, we must exercise the franchise so as to defeat our enemies and protect our friends. It is important right now to direct the attack where it will do the most good."

He cited legislation of the 78th Congress either killed or emasculated by the "connivance of the reactionaries," notably defeat of federal aid to education, the anti-poll tax bill, FEPC and Public Housing appropriations.

Smokes Out Traitors

Republicans Taft and Langer led the fight against education and Republican Congressmen Wigglesworth of Massachusetts and Dirksen of Illinois consistently opposed housing measures, Sengstacke pointed out. 10-28-44

"Another example of Republican opposition to progressive legislation," he said, "is that of Congressman John Taber of Auburn, N. Y. Taber knifed the National Youth Administration, which was so helpful to young Negroes. Taber, on the floor of Congress, uttered the statement that he was against NYA because he was against seeing Negro girls walking along the street with white boys. It is a well-known fact that Taber has the 100 per cent enmity of the Negro group in his home town. In case of a Dewey election Taber may head the important House appropriations committee."

Cleanup Congress

The League head warned against electing a Congress of such representatives, and declared that it is necessary for the Negro voter to put into office progressive Northern Democrats of the type who, in the thirties advanced legislation of the type that has proved helpful to Negroes.

"The point must be driven home also," 10-28-44 Sengstacke's statement continued, "that whereas relatively few congressmen rise on the floor to speak on important bills, they do busy themselves in committees working for or against measures. It is therefore all the more imperative that every congressman and senator running for office must be smoked

See NON-PARTISAN, Page 4

out on those issues which vitally affect us." 10-28-44

An independent survey made by the League shows that whereas Negroes constitute the balance of power in some 17 states, they represent also a "real balance" in more than 60 Congressional districts. This survey is based upon the 1942 elections. In many of these districts, it was said, a "large number of the winning candidates won out with majorities of less than 1,000 votes.

Sengstacke took occasion to cite the fact that in many of the districts where Negroes hold "substantial" or balancing vote power, the congressmen from those districts have been "particularly vehement and insidious in their anti-Negro tactics." 10-28-44

The League is cooperating with the NAACP, the AKA Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs, and the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in bringing to the attention of the voters the records of those congressmen and senators who are up for re-election this fall.

Platforms Of Both Parties Are Adequate

Informer—Houston, Texas
10-28-44

By CARTER WESLEY

As to the platform of the two major parties, the truth is that neither one is satisfactory in the part they devote to Negroes and their rights or their injustices. The paragraph with which the matter is dismissed in the Democratic platform is hardly the splinter that Walter White calls it.

If we are going to vote on platform statements alone, the Democratic party would be in a devil of a fix.

Both Platforms Short, Vague

The Republican party platform is more extended and more concrete than the Democratic platform, though they are both too short and too vague. We dismiss the statements in the Republican platform of condemnation and of investigation. We accept the pledge to establish a permanent FEPC. We accept the pledge to work for an anti-lynching bill. 10-28-44

But we take as double talk the fact that the Republicans favor submitting to the states a constitutional amendment on equal rights, and one on anti-poll tax. We want the matters passed in Congress, and we want the party to enforce the cloture rules so that legislation on these matters can be passed. We believe the Constitution is already broad enough to permit Congress to do it and will take the responsibility for constitutionality, so we won't blame them if proper legislation is declared unconstitutional.

So, stripped of the double talk planks in the Republican platform, we have the Republican platform making about one-and-a half more promises than the Democratic platform does, the Republican platform being a little more specific. But the Republican platform is more seemingly beneficial than it is actually. For it doesn't mean anything to talk about submitting constitutional amendments to the states on equal rights and on anti-poll tax. If the Republican platform says a little more, it is equally true that the Democrats have done vastly more in the years when they had no pledges in their platform than they talk of in this platform now, or than any Republicans have ever promised or attempted to do.

10-28-44

From the Negro standpoint the question is, what shall we vote on, words and platforms, or on deeds? The Democrats have made practically no platforms on the matter, but have done more than the Republicans in all of the years that they have been in office. The Republicans have done nothing practically in the times when they were in office, and they make us a few more promises in the platform.

Without a platform the Democrats have given us the right to vote in Texas; they have given us and all laborers the National Labor Relations Act, under which we approach being men in the labor world; the various housing acts under which many of our people in the lowest ranks have gotten some bit of light and air in living conditions; the social security laws, which give us some protection for the indigent, the aged, sick, blind and other people who need protection, and our race has more of these than others; so one could go on naming the benefits that we and other poorer people get as a result of the acts of the Democratic party. 10-28-44

Dewey Would Make Acceptable President

For my part I think that Governor Dewey would make an acceptable president and would give us an efficient administration at Washington. And I am not one who believes that the country would go to pot if Governor Dewey were elected. But I believe that President Roosevelt could continue the present gains that we are making toward fair treatment of minorities in America to the advantage of white and black. I think this is more important from the Negro's standpoint than any other element in this election, and in a larger sense, I think it is more important to the nation generally. For as I said above, I believe both men will lead us generally toward security.

Here in Texas Negroes have some of the same elements of confusion affecting those who are candidates for office. The pro-Roosevelt forces in Texas have officially endorsed efforts to try to bar Negroes from voting in the next Legislature by the same type of resolution as have the anti-Roosevelt forces, or the Texas Regulars. The pro-Roosevelt forces are timid and afraid to frankly unite with any minority groups who are supporting the principles that the pros are fighting for, and are ridden by the same old fear of being charged with "N----- lovers" that has ridden Texas politics over the years. 10-28-44

If the pro-Roosevelt forces are fighting for the re-election of President Roosevelt, Negroes who believe that President Roosevelt ought to be reelected cannot desert their guns because the pros have not been as big and courageous as they might be. The principal thing to do is for the forces fighting for the same things to unite. If the pros have not shown all the courage that they might in standing forth for such unity, we have to keep in mind that most of them are politicians, scared of their shadows when there is the least bit of doubt or fog out.

To make it short, I think Negroes should support the ticket proffered by the pro-Roosevelt forces, because it offers the only way to give vent to general aims of Negro voters. Negroes cannot support the Texas Regulars, who are obviously anti-Negroid, and anti-everything liberal in America. The Republicans still are not trying to form a real party in the state, and any votes cast for them in Texas would be lost in this election. The Republican leadership is less honest than either of the other two, because it is not only afraid to declare clear-cut policies and support those who believe in the policies, but it is trying to deceive both the Negroes and the lily-whites, in the hope that it can carry water on two shoulders. 10-28-44

Republicans Had Chance

Indeed, the Republicans had the opportunity of a lifetime, finished by the split between the Democrats in Texas. What did they do with it? They muffed it out of selfishness and shortsightedness. Those who have the leadership in Texas are afraid to try to organize a real party, for fear they will lose some personal power or prerogative. The Republican party in Texas is still a vest pocket edition, and seems to be destined ~~to remain in the~~ pockets of two or three white men, who are only interested in national patronage.

10-28-44

Texas needs two parties. It is to be ardently hoped that out of the split between the Democrats we will develop two strong parties in Texas. But there is little hope that the Republican leadership will take the initiative in bringing forth two parties. During election orators talk about principles, but behind closed doors and in their councils they are governed by personal greed and petty ambitions. Statesmanship requires that men be willing to sacrifice personal ambitions for the good of the whole, and we are short of statesmen in this crisis as we have been in others. Let no Negro be fooled by the orators and the propaganda put out by anybody. Let him vote for the things that seem best and for those who promise to do the most for the race and for the nation. From that angle it still looks like the pro-Roosevelt forces are the best for Negroes in this election.

GRACIOUS, CAN THIS BE TRUE?

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

1

By FRED ATWATER
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MOBILE, Ala. — Evidence of a shocking sell-out of the Negro people appeared in the streets of the South this week.

10-28-44

Dixie's bitterest Negro haters are being aided by one of the largest Negro newspapers in America.

This startling declaration on the race issue was made here by anti-Roosevelt Democrats and lily-white Republicans who reported that they had the backing of the Pittsburgh Courier, weekly newspaper.

Distributed by white-supremists and Ku Klux Klan elements, thousands of anti-Negro folders were seen here boldly asserting that the Courier is opposed to President Roosevelt because of the "undue familiarity by the Roosevelts" with Negroes.

Cotton Ed, Courier For Dewey

That newspaper recently announced its support of Governor Thomas E. Dewey along with anti-Negro Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, former Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia and a host of other Southern "lily-whites."

Capitalizing on the unexpected aid from a member of the Negro press, the leaflets created a sensation by stating that the Courier supported the "principles" espoused by the Negro haters.

10-28-44

Southern Negroes contacted here expressed bitter resentment at the support given the anti-Negro factions by the newspaper and termed it the "worst sell-out in history."

'Uncle Tom's Courier'

Other groups, re-naming the paper a "Uncle Toms's Courier," appeared bewildered at its affiliation with anti-New Deal forces who were against President Roosevelt because of his pro-democratic policies.

57

Even more significant than the use of material from this paper was the widespread speculation aroused by the fact that lily-white forces apparently knew far in advance of public announcement which colored papers would line-up behind Governor Dewey.

Advance copies of the hate-sheet were mailed several days before Fulton Lewis Jr., anti-Roosevelt radio commentator, made known which leading colored newspapers were choosing sides in the campaign.

10-28-44

Claim FDR Anti-Jim Crow

Entitled "Racial Distinctions Abolished," the four-page leaflet charged Roosevelt with being responsible for this. In bold type it stated: "President Roosevelt Permits Wife to Dine with Negro Porters to Obtain Votes for New Deal." Continuing the sheet read: "Mrs. Roosevelt Exhibits 'Streamlined Democracy,' and Accepts Invitations to Negro Social Functions."

Looked upon here as the boldest indictment of the now-called "Uncle Tom's Courier," the leaflet boasted: "The higher type of Negroes in the country have resented this undue familiarity by the Roosevelts. They know it was all done to get the Northern Negro vote. For this reason The Pittsburgh Courier, largest Negro daily paper (sic) in America, is opposed to Roosevelt.

"We Southern Democrats believe in the principle of racial integrity."

Reaches Into Deep South

Mailed out in this area by John R. King and Company of Mobile, the leaflets were reported reaching every lily-white group in the deep south.

10-28-44

One full page of the leaflet was devoted to a reprint of Mrs. Roosevelt's column "My Day," of September 20, 1940, and allegedly resented by "Uncle Tom's Courier." Mrs. Roosevelt had stated: "Last night I dined with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, affiliated with the A Fof L. It was the 15th anniversary of their biennial convention. These men have made life comfortable and pleasant for me on many long journeys, and I know that they had a long hard fight before they gained the recognition of their union."

Streamlined Democracy

The next paragraph read: "I did not know until Mayor LaGuardia spoke that he had been one of the people at their first organization meeting. I am constantly finding where there has been a struggle for the rights of labor and for the recognition of human values, regardless of race, creed or color, that the mayor of New York City has been in it from the start. If satisfaction has finally come in the gains of freedom and justice meted out to any groups of human beings, he can take pride in their achievement because he has carried his share of the fight."

10-28-44

The third page of the folder contained a photograph of Mrs. Roosevelt being accompanied by two Negro cadets. Beneath the picture the hate-spreaders stated: "Mrs. Roosevelt Graciously Accepts Attentions of Young Negro Men Students. More Evidence of New Deal 'Streamlined Democracy.'"

Larger Cities Thrown To FDR By Race Voters

Daily World — Atlanta, Ga.

11-8-44

Appeal Of Big Newspapers Gets Little Response

BULLETIN

NEW YORK CITY — (SNS) — Governor Thomas E. Dewey at 3:17 a. m. EST, conceded defeat in his race for the Presidency. "It is clear now that Mr. Roosevelt has been re-elected for a fourth term," declared Mr. Dewey. "I extend to him my heartiest congratulations and wish that during his fourth term he will bring a speedy victory, the establishment of a lasting peace and the restoration of tranquility. I wish to thank millions of you for the confidence you placed in me and assure you that the Republican party has been greatly strengthened as a bulwark to freedom in this country."

11-8-44

By Scott Newspaper Syndicate

Piling up a huge majority of more than a million and a half popular votes to garner a total of 351 electoral votes in reports issued at one o'clock Wednesday morning, President Roosevelt was definitely assured of victory in his fourth term bid.

52a

The popular vote total early Wednesday was for Roosevelt 9,247,500 and for Dewey. 7,772,400.

Governor Dewey ran well in the first few hours of the reports, but shortly after eleven o'clock when the big city totals began pouring in, the unquestioned trend toward the Democratic ticket was apparent.

IGNORE NEWSPAPERS

Negro voters in the pivotal states carrying the largest number of electoral votes, ignored the plea of large Eastern newspapers, the Pittsburgh Courier and the Afro-American, and casting huge totals for Roosevelt in the big cities of Philadelphia, New York City, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Detroit, placed the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Illinois safely in the Democratic column.

11-8-44

Both the Courier and the Afro had conducted violently partisan campaigns for Dewey.

In the face of mounting totals for President Roosevelt, Governor Dewey, who had set up headquarters in the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, at 12:30 o'clock a. m. Wednesday stubbornly refused to concede his defeat. After calling a press conference in the hotel's lobby, Dewey at the last minute canceled his appearance and refused to come down. Herbert Brownell, chairman of the Republican National Committee, also refused to concede Mr. Roosevelt's victory.

11-8-44

CARRY GOP STATES

Coming as a surprise to most political observers was the fact that Mr. Roosevelt carried more of the traditional Republican states in this year's election than he did in 1940. Three of the strong Republican states, which in 1940 voted overwhelmingly for Willkie, this year threw their electoral votes to Mr. Roosevelt. They were North Dakota, South Dakota and Minnesota.

Massachusetts, another traditional Republican state, which went to Willkie in 1940, returned to the Democratic column by a substantial margin.

11-8-44

The threatened revolt against Roosevelt in Louisiana, Aexas and Mississippi, proved to be a dud when the people had a chance to go to the polls and express their preference. In Texas where the split appeared most imminent, Roosevelt in Louisiana, Texas and by three to one, while Mississippi and Louisiana gave him a two to one majority.

Robeson Lauds 'Bandwagon'

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

10-26-44

Paul Robeson, world-famous Negro actor-singer, yesterday endorsed the FDR Victory Bandwagon which will perform at Manhattan Center, 34 St. and Eighth Ave., next Monday evening, Oct. 30. The Manhattan Center affair follows presentations in 20-odd cities throughout the United States.

Paul Robeson

Scheduled to speak are Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Dr. A. Clayton Powell, who is assured of election to Congress Nov. 7. said:

In his endorsement, Mr. Robeson said:

52a

"The FDR Victory Bandwagon promises to be a cultural event of historic significance. It not only deepens the progressive content of the people's entertainment by explaining the great political and social issues of the day through the arts of acting, singing, dancing and instrumental music, but also strengthens national unity by presenting an interracial troupe of artists.

10-26-44

"I am extremely happy to endorse the FDR Victory Bandwagon and to wish it success in its tour of the nation."

The Bandwagon is the show the Christian Fronters tried unsuccessfully to stop in Boston, where it performed before nearly 3,000 persons.

Equally stirring performances were given in Bridgeport, Hartford, Toledo, Akron, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, Milwaukee and other cities.

Stars participating in the FDR Victory Bandwagon are Mary Lou Williams, known as the Queen of Boogie-Woogie; Helen Tamiris and Daniel Negrin, concert dancers; Will Geer, of Tobacco Road; Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Laura Duncan, Orelia and Pedro, Latin American dancers; Rollin Smith, Negro baritone; Jack de Merchant and Betty Royce, concert pianist.

10-26-44

Tickets ranging from $1.20 to $3.60 are available at Music Stage, Room 1523, Paramount Building; Bookfair, 133 W. 44 St.; Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13 St.

Toward Freedom

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

EUGENE TALMADGE, anti-Roosevelt Democrat, ex-Governor of Georgia, Negro-hating former head of a local Ku Klux Klan, is a strong and enthusiastic supporter of candidate Dewey.

10-30-44

Sam M. Johnson, Negro-hating Democratic presidential elector from Alabama, resigned his post to work for the election of Governor Dewey, declaring: "The New Deal cannot snub us for the Negro vote," and adding that Rosevelt's defeat is necessary "in order to uphold existing race barriers in the South."

These are illustrative of the dividends candidate Dewey is reaping from the seeds of friendship he sowed among the white supremacy-ites of the reconstructed South. It was "smart" politics the Goved South.

52a

President Roosevelt has done more than any other President to undermine the whole rotten structure of Bourbon reaction which holds the great masses of southern poor whites and Negroes in subjection. That is why most rabid polltaxers hate him; and that is why the southern people—and their white and Negro friends in the North—will vote to continue his progressive administration.

52a-1944

Why Are Negroes Supporting President Roosevelt

Plaindealer—Kansas City, Mo.

10-27-44

IT IS EASY to raise questions that are inconsistent, empty and without sense or point. Wise people don't often do it. But there are people who are OTHERWISE, and since they raise such questions there is no need of merely laughing at them. It is better to give them credit of being serious and take a look at some of their questions. The ONE BIG question the average Republican leader raises is this: "Why are Negroes Supporting Roosevelt?" This question is raised by what may be known as regular Republican leaders of both races, and is perhaps, more prevalent in Kansas than elsewhere. Even some leaders who themselves support Roosevelt privately ask the question publicly, perhaps in order to maintain their regularity. But there are some leaders who are far more concerned about the welfare of the people than they are about party regularity. In fact what some people call party regularity is a terrible handicap to some race leaders. There is an answer to the question why Negroes are supporting Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I

10-27-44

IN THE FIRST place Negroes support Roosevelt for the same reason that other race groups support him. The fact is Negro support of Roosevelt would not be so important in some sections if millions of others were not doing the same thing. When white people in pivotal states are so sharply and evenly divided on Presidential candidates, the Negro vote in those same sections can become the deciding factor. So the question why Negroes are supporting the President has no more point than to ask why all the other people are supporting him. The question carries among the thoughtless the assumption that certanly wise white people are supporting Roosevelt, but why are Negroes—whether wise or foolish—supporting him. Does the question mean that Negroes are not citizens of this country, or that they are less patriotic, or that they are less interested in good government, or less concerned about the general welfare of all the people? Don't they have intelligence enough to consider men and measures during election time? Can't they weigh political issues just like white folks? Some of these same leaders never stopped to ask why the late Wendell Willkie changed his party affiliation a few years ago and joined the Republican party. They seemed to forget that within a few months after he had changed parties he was nominated as head of the Republican party in the Republican National Convention. And by whom? By REGULAR REPUBLICANS. They also forget that Franklin D. Roosevelt has never been elected President without the votes of millions of REGULAR REPUBLICANS. He will not be elected this time without them. Consider Senator Ball and Mr. Devenport, outstanding leaders in the Republican party, who have recently declared for Roosevelt. Consider the millions in both races who will follow their lead into the Roosevelt fold. Why then does it seem so strange to some people that Negroes, too, have some political sense and know how to make choices upon the basis of considerations that challenge other people? So in general Negroes are supporting Roosevelt for the same or similar reasons that millions of white people are supporting him.

II

10-27-44

NEGROES HAVE ADDED reason for supporting Roosevelt. While they are interested in all the people, conditions force them to give some special attention to problems peculiar to them. They have ceased to expect automatic solutions to any of their own problems. They know too that they must have help and plenty of it—and much of this help must come from those in power. Some men in power pay no attention to the problems of the Negro except to increase their stubbornness. Others do lend ear to their pleadings and give strength to efforts to solve some of their problems and change others so Negroes can solve them by their ballot. Negroes have learned that party labels do not always reveal such men, and they must find and recognize and appreciate them no matter what their party label may be. In other words Negroes have ceased to be dumb fools to be blindly led by demagogues under the pretense of party loyalty. Anybody is stupidly blind who can't see that MUCH in a fundamental way has come to Negroes under the Roosevelt administration. And it is no longer a secret a lot of the open revolt, especially in the deep south, against him is due to his courage in carrying forward a national program that yields benefits to Negroes as well as others. And who among white people without regard to party would have any decent respect for Negroes who would prove ungrateful to men in public office who dare to stick out their necks for them as Roosevelt has done?

10-27-44

III

BUT WHAT HAS HE DONE? some insist on asking. The primary function of such a question is to confuse and mislead. Still it may not be out of place to mention a few items in the Roosevelt program that have benefitted Negroes. His Public Works program saved hundreds of thousands of Negroes from starvation; his CCC program took thousands of our boys from the streets saving them from degeneration and crime, and gave them useful occupation and education; his NYA program put thousands of Negro boys and girls into high schools and colleges who never could have gone; his housing program took hundreds of thousands out of the slums and put them into comfortable homes; his labor program made them eligible to entrance into collective bargaining with fellow workmen and opened up to hundreds of thousands the benefits of labor organizations; his financial program gave them the benefits of insurance of bank deposits, encouraged the growth of Negro banks, and the saving of millions of dollars in our own banks, and billions of dollars in government bonds. Climaxing this comes the Roosevelt Fair Employment Practice Commission which is to the Negro a second Emancipation Proclamation. When the Philadelphia traction workers defied this FEPC President Roosevelt stood firm, against great pressure, for the application of fair employment, and Negroes are now working on the Philadelphia trolley cars. WHY ARE NEGROES SUPPORTING ROOSEVELT? In general for the same reasons that a vast majority of white people of this country are supporting him. Particularly, because the record of twelve years of Roosevelt indicates a deep and courageous concern in

10-27-44

blems that bear down heavily upon Negro people.
are NOT UNGRATEFUL.

Looking To November 7

Daily World—Atlanta, Ga.

The announced plan of members of the Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County to sponsor a mass-meeting to get out a record-breaking vote for President Roosevelt on November 7, is strong evidence of the appreciation which all Negro citizens should demonstrate. Truly the President not only deserves our support in the approaching elections, but long after he has gone from office, Negro citizens should continue to honor his great service to them.

10-23-44

In the courts, the President has to his credit a large number of Civil Liberties prosecutions. We can never forget, if we are not ingrates, the recent historic Supreme Court decision to outlaw the White Primaries. Peonage has received its worst and most serious blow under the New Deal administration. The Justice Department has convicted more sheriffs and other officers of the law than any previous administration, thus creating a fresh respect for federal justice throughout the country. Since '33, it has been estimated that Negroes have held more federal jobs under the New Deal than they have held during the past 50 years previous to Roosevelt's election. Today, more than 18 % of all federally dispensed jobs are held. Until the opening of the War, 35 per cent of the federally-controlled public housing units in the country were peopled by Negroes.

Mr. Roosevelt has done much more than we could pretend to credit him with in this brief space. The important thing now, of course, is not a mere recital of what the President and his wife have done for minorities. That we shall never forget. But to get out the vote-that is the real duty before all Negro citizens interested in the future welfare and destiny of the race and the country.

We need Roosevelt and the country needs him. It is therefore, an evidence of our gratitude and deep appreciation for a friend who has stood steadfast no matter the trial, in order that we may enjoy a greater measure of freedom and democracy in this country. 10-23-44

We shall rally and vote for him. Let all Atlanta, interested in the President's continuation in the service of his country, mark Thursday, Nov. 2 on his calendar. That is the day on which we will have an opportunity to aid others in their decision to pile up a high popular vote for the New Deal Administration.

THREE TIMES, MR. DEWEY

Argus — St. Louis, Mo.

A headline appearing in the Chicago Defender last week, one of our leading Negro papers in this country, read; — "Dewey sends another Negro to Dixie Prison." This is the third victim returned to the South by the New York Governor to face the bourbon courts after they had sought asylum in New York state. Thus the news was chronicled, after Mr. Dewey following his first two acts, returned Troy Leavell of Brooklyn to face a Georgia Court on an alleged crime said to have been committed in 1938. The other two victims were George Burrows returned to Alabama and Otis Johnson returned to South Carolina. 10-27-44

The story also stated "This marked the first time in 20 years that an eastern state governor has honored application for the Chattahoochee judicial circuit for an extradition warrant by a governor of Georgia, the solicitor general said here. Shattering precedents set by northern governors who for years have refused to send Negro prisoners South to face questionable charges."

We cite these facts in connection with this story because there seems to be so many Negroes who are blind as to the direction in which Dewey is going in his treatment of their people when the South is involved. It shows that the New York Governor yielded to the prejudices of the South when the rights of the Negroes were at stake. It also shows that he is playing politics with the very lives of the most humble citizens of his state.

To-be-sure, the Governor as has been stated in these columns has made some outstanding Negro appointments but at the same time he has revealed his real self and his real purpose by selling the citizenship rights of the poor, disregarding the precedent of Northern Governors for nearly two decades. And yet he poses as a liberal and seeks to ride into the office as President of the United States on a claim of liberalism not necessarily made by himself but by others (and we regret there are some Negroes going around the country saying "Mr. Dewey is a great liberal.")

The real test of a man in public office can more nearly be correctly judged by his deeds rather than by a multiplicity of words. Mr. Dewey and his supporters have greatly embellished some of the things he has said and done since he has been the Governor of New York but those who think and follow the record, readily can taste and see that most of these words are sugar-coated and are far short of genuineness. 10-27-44

Others of our group who are supporting Mr. Dewey claim that the New Deal is dominated by the southern reactionaries. Such a statement is vicious, false and void of logic and reason. If Mr. Roosevelt is dominated by the southern reactionaries, why in the hell are they fighting to get him out of the White House? It just doesn't make sense. If Mr. Dewey had not renewed the Republican Covenant with the South, what they call "restore state rights, why in the "Sam Hill" are so many of them on Mr. Dewey's state rights bandwagon. These southerners whom the Negro supporters of Mr. Dewey are saying are dominating the Democratic party, are betting their entire fortune and future on Dewey to let them continue to run their state to suit themselves. And everybody knows what the State Rights means to Negroes.

……

The late Wendell Willkie, after his defeat as a Republican nominee for President of the United States in 1940, was asked by a group of newspaper men how did he harmonize some of the statements he made during his campaign against Roosevelt's policy and that he was then making in favor of the president's policies? His answer was in a kind of light vein "Oh well, that was political oratory." We have been inclined to doubt that any Negro who thinks at all could possibly support Mr. Dewey, because of his (Dewey) forth right statements in his campaign on the State Righters' platform. Because, of all the inconsistencies, twisting and weasel-words that are used in political campaigns, the State Righters are the most detrimental to the Negro's future. And somehow, we thought that before this election actually came on, that these Negroes would acknowledge that their eloquence in Dewey's behalf was "campaign oratory." And that of all things, they couldn't swallow the State Righters' gag. 10-27-44

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Remember that Dewey is with the crowd who hates Roosevelt. They call his close followers and advisers "New Dealers." They say that the New Dealers are trying to bring about a change in this country and they put in that category, Harold L. Ickes, Mrs. Roosevelt, Members of the United States Supreme Court, Henry A. Wallace, Harry Truman, Sidney Hillman and the thinking Negroes which include our masses. And they think they will be married to Thomas E. Dewey and his crowd after November 7 and if that wedding does take place. Watch out—Watch out!

We Are For Roosevelt

Age — New York, N.Y.

-- AN EDITORIAL --

10-28-44

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Thus far, about the only argument which Republican strategists have advanced for Governor Dewey's election as President is the fact that he has appointed some Negroes to jobs, and because he has made these appointments he will continue, if elected President, to throw some big political plums to Negroes.

Oh, yes, they say, Governor Dewey has pledged a permanent FEPC, too. He might even, if elected, make some Negro at least an assistant secretary in some cabinet post. And so on infinitum.

Records, however, speak for themselves.

Taking the list of appointments of Negroes made by Dewey, as prepared and sent out by the Republican National Committee, there are given the names of fourteen Negroes holding state jobs, eight of them salaried jobs, the other six being non-paying.

But even this record, on which so much importance is placed by the Republican "high command" that it has given it wide circulation among Negroes, is not an honest record of accomplishments. Four jobs, those of Assistants Attorney-General, (salaries rnge from $3,500 to $5,000) are not appointments made by Governor Dewey! They are appointments made by Attorney General Goldstein, a duly elected state official in his own right, and not a political appointee of the Governor. Attorney General Goldstein's appointments are made by Attorney General Goldstein — not by Governor Dewey.

That leaves us with ten Negroes directly appointed by the Governor, and of those ten, four of them are salaried.

When a vacancy occurred on the City Court Bench of New York County, Governor Dewey named his former Assistant in the District Attorney's office, Francis E. Rivers, to fill the vacancy until the next election. Justice Rivers was subsequently elected to the office by voters 10-28-44

That leaves us with nine Negroes directly appointed by the Governor, and of those nine, three of them are salaried. 10-28-44

As long as claims are going to be made, and statements circulated among the voters of this nation, the Republican National Committee should at least be honest about what it ays. Unless, of course, it feels that Negroes re so gullible that they will believe every- ing they read or hear. This campaign hasn't

punch-pulling on the side of the GOP. This campaign, before it is over, will probably set a record for a new low having been reached in national political campaigns. The GOP is helping to make it so.

When it deliberately publishes mis-statements, the GOP must suffer the consequences.

It is so easy to keep the record straight, when one wants to be honest. The GOP, apparently doesn't want to be honest with the Negro. It apparently feels that anything is good enough for the Negro. Well it is going to find out on election day that when its patron saint, Abraham Lincoln said, still holds true — that adage that you can fool some of the people some of the time; you can fool some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time. 10-28-44

It's time for the GOP strategists to keep the record straight and stop belittling the intelligence of Negroes. They resent it. And in resenting insults they often translate that into action at the polls. That's what Negroes are going to do on November 7th when they vote to reelect President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

52a-1944

A MESSAGE TO THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS FROM THE NEGROES OF AMERICA!

Courier - Pittsburgh, Pa. July 1, 1944

July 1, 1944

In the coming November election, the Negro voter will judge political parties, as well as candidates, by their words and deeds as to whether they show a determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged peoples. Political parties and candidates that seek the votes of Negroes must be committed to the wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory, must agree to the elimination of the poll tax by Act of Congress, the passage of anti-lynching legislation, the unsegregated integration of Negroes into the armed forces, the establishment of a permanent Federal Committee on Fair Employment Practices, and a foreign policy of international co-operation that promotes economic and political security for all peoples.

The votes of Negroes cannot be purchased by distributing money to and through party hacks. They cannot be won by pointing to jobs given a few individual Negroes, although the recognition of the Negro as an integral part of the body politic through selection of qualified Negroes for appointive or elective office is included among the Negro's demands. Negroes are no longer persuaded by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day.

Negroes no longer belong to any one political party. They will vote for men and measures. Negro voters played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as Judge in the same community, a Democratic Mayor in Cleveland, a Republican Governor in Kentucky, and in co-operation with organized labor and other progressive forces, in the withdrawal and defeat of hostile Congressmen in Alabama, Texas and California. Public officers who have not made a record of liberal and democratic action may expect Negroes to help remove them from office. If their successors are no better, they may expect the same fate at the next election. For if Negroes do not always find a satisfactory candidate to support, they can and will continue to help remove unsatisfactory officials until truly democratic forces shall come into power.

The undersigned are officers of church, fraternal, labor, civic and educational organizations with a total membership of more than 6,500,000. We recommend to the membership of our respective organizations and all other voters that they measure all appeals for their support made by political parties and by Presidential and other candidates according to the following yardstick:

The Negro people, like all other Americans, recognize the war as the chief issue confronting our country. We demand of any political party desiring the support of Negroes a vigorous prosecution of the war. We are opposed to any negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces within our country. Victory must crush Hitlerism at home as well as abroad.

In evaluating the merits of parties and candidates we must include all issues—those touching the life of Negroes as a group, as well as those affecting the entire country. The party or candidate who refuses to help control prices, or fails to support the extension of social security, or refuses to support a progressive public program for full post-war employment, or opposes an enlarged and unsegregated program of Government-financed housing, or seeks to destroy organized labor, is as much the enemy of Negroes as is he who would prevent Negroes from voting.

We insist upon the right to vote in every State, unrestricted by poll taxes, white primaries, or lily-white party conventions, the gerrymandering of districts, or any device designed to disfranchise Negroes and other voters. Any political party in power, or aspiring to power, must demonstrate its determination through legislation and through vigorous criminal prosecution by the Department of Justice to protect and secure voting as a fundamental right of citizenship.

The ever-serious evil of lynching and mob violence has become more critical as a result of unrestrained violence against Negroes in the armed services. No national administration can merit the support of Negroes unless it is committed to a legislative and admintrative program for the elimination of this national disgrace.

The Senate rule requiring a two-thirds majority to limit debate, combined with the refusal of Senators to vote for cloture, has recently prevented a vote on the Anti-Poll Tax bill. Negroes will not any longer accept the subterfuge of those who claim to favor anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and other progressive legislation yet refuse to invoke cloture so that their votes can be registered. Negroes will expect both major parties and all candidates for Congress not only to commit themselves to such legislation, but also to support such reasonable limitation of debate as may be necessary to bring these measures to a vote.

The program now being carried on through the Fair Employment Practices Committee to secure and protect the right to work without racial or religious discrimination must be continued and expanded during and after the war. No party or candidate for the Presidency or Congress can expect the vote of Negroes without supporting legislation for a permanent committee on fair employment practices with a sufficient appropriation for the effective operation of the said committee, and to continue adequate appropriation for the present FEPC until a permanent committee is established.

No injustice embitters Negroes more than continued segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. The national policy of segregating Negroes in the armed forces violates every principle of democracy. Any party or candidate that hopes to win the support and respect of Negroes and all progressive groups must prove their belief in democracy by adopting a democratic program for the integration of all Americans into unsegregated military forces and supporting Federal legislation designed to assure all men and women in the armed forces the peaceful enjoyment of all rights of citizenship in every American community.

We are concerned that this war bring to an end imperialism and colonial exploitation. We believe that political and economic democracy must displace the present system of exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India, and all other colonial areas. We insist that all parties and candidates formulate a foreign policy which will recognize China as an equal partner with America, England and Soviet Russia, and which will resolutely and unequivocally oppose either perpetuation on extension of exploitations based upon "white superiority" or economic or political advantage to "white" nations at the expense of the two-thirds of the people of the earth who are brown, yellow, or black of skin. The United States must point the way by including Negroes among its representatives at the peace conference or peace conferences and among its diplomatic, technical and professional experts engaged in international post-war reconstruction.

We hereby serve notice that if either major political party shall nominate for President of Vice President a candidate of vacillating or reactionary character, or with an anti-Negro record, it will be vigorously opposed by Negro voters.

We repudiate all persons, Negro and white, who attempt, for personal profit, to "deliver the Negro vote."

This statement is designed both to make clear the Negro's present attitude of resentment against the shortcomings of both major political parties and to serve as a guide in measuring the future intentions of parties and candidates.

ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
LOUISE McDONALD
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
BELFORD LAWSON
A. M. E. CHURCH
BISHOP JOHN A. GREGG
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
REVEREND B. C. ROBESON
ASSOCIATION OF COLORED RAILWAY TRAINMEN AND LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN, AND INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
EMORY JACKSON

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
ASHLEY TOTTEN
NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS
MAX YERGAN
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
ELSIE AUSTIN
ELKS (I.B.P.O.E.W.)
J. FINLEY WILSON
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
GEORGE MILNER
KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY
CARL R. JOHNSON
METHODIST CHURCH
BISHOP ALEXANDER SHAW

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED GRADUATE NURSES
MRS. MABEL K. STAUPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
WILLIAM H. HASTIE
THURGOOD MARSHALL
WALTER WHITE
ROY WILKINS
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
JUDGE FRANCIS E. RIVERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
SADIE T. M. ALEXANDER
NATIONAL MARITIME UNION
FERDINAND SMITH

OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY
Z. ALEXANDER LOOBY
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT
A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
GEORGE A. PARKER
PROGRESSIVE VOTERS' LEAGUE
MAYNARD JACKSON
SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE C. M. E. CHURCH
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
UAW-CIO
WALTER HARDIN
WASHINGTON BUREAU NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
LESLIE PERRY
NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE (CIO-AFL)
FRANK CROSSWAITH

LABOR FRONT

Hillman Blasts Dewey Record On Race Issue

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

9-16-44

SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.—In a blistering attack upon Thomas E. Dewey's record as governor, PAC Chairman Sidney Hillman told delegates to the state CIO convention here Saturday that the GOP presidential nominee had completely dodged the issue of racial discrimination.

Hillman charged that Dewey "disregarded both the findings and the proposals" of the State Committee on Discrimination in Employment. Rather than take action on the proposals, the PAC chairman asserted, Dewey secured adoption by the state legislature of a bill providing that "there should be another committee to study the findings of the previous committee."

Hillman pointed out that the states' rights doctrine endorsed by Dewey and the GOP would place the future of Southern Negroes in the hands of state legislatures "in which no Negro may sit and for the election of which no Negro may vote."

9-16-44

States' rights, he said, is the one issue on which Dewey has taken a clear stand. He said the governor had made it "abundantly clear" that he favors the curtailment of the use of Federal power and that he believes that health, education, living standards and working conditions are primarily a concern of state and local governments.

Promises Work for All After War

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

No Limit on Opportunity Based on Race

9-15-44

WASHINTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Republican Presidential nominee, in his first real campaign speech made in Philadelphia last Thursday said there must be no discrimination in jobs and oportunity for all.

"There can be," he said "there must be jobs and opportunity for all, without discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin."

This statement was in line with the plank in the Republican platform which promises a permanent FEPC under the Republican administration.

Dewey said further that 'there must be jobs in industry, in agriculture, in mines, in stores, in offices, at a high level of wages and salaries. There must be opportunity and incentive for men and women to go into business for themselves."

The G. O. P. nominee attacked the present administration as a "tired, exhausted, quarreling and bickering, one conceived in defeatism."

9-15-44

Two Negro reporters are in the group of pressmen traveling with Gov. Dewey on his speaking tour.

In Philadelphia, Dewey held a conference with 40 Negro men and women Thursday. In the group was Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, prominent woman leader, who had served under Mrs. Roosevelt in numerous important activities in Washington and Pennsylvania. Mrs. Fauset, after hearing Gov. Dewey's address, issued a statement in which she pledged her support to the Republican nominee.

WILLKIE AND DEWEY

Plaindealer — Kansas City, Kan.

Last week Mr. Willkie quit the race for nomination by the Republican party as a presidential candidate. . . . He stepped out and admitted that he could not win. This was just what some of the Republican leaders wanted . . . they set out to stop Willkie and they were successful as far as the contest looms up for the present. Mr. Willkie is mum on his future plans, this is to be expected. If Mr. Willkie would declare himself, then the Republican leaders would perhaps push him over the cliff for keeps and get him completely out of the way. But instead, Mr. Willkie places himself in a very unique political spot.

One newspaper said that Mr. Willkie talked too much and other commentators have advanced their theories as to why Mr. Willkie had to bring his campaign to a close. Regardless of the many reasons given as to Mr. Willkie's defeat. . . . ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS WHY SOME REPUBLICAN LEADERS WANTED HIM OUT OF THE WAY WAS BECAUSE OF HIS LIBERAL VIEWS ON THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICA. Mr. Willkie was bold and frank on this point. He strongly advocated that Negroes should be first class citizens. He spoke the language that Negroes wanted to hear and because of his talking so much . . . the Negroes of this country were in his corner for a presidential candidate.

4-14-44

Mr. Dewey of New York who will most likely be nominated has the blessings of Republican leaders. . . . He hasn't talked on the Negro. . . . He failed to act in his own state on legislation that would help the Negro's cause and he is without the support of the Negro people at this writing which will be needed to elect him President of the United States. At a meeting in Chicago last February, Negro Republicans gathered from 32 states in a two-day session. No candidates were discussed on the floor of the convention, but sentiment as expressed in the demands of the convention and discussed in and around the Pershing hotel those two days was for Willkie or rather for the support of a candidate who advocated the same views as Mr. Willkie on the American Negro.

Here we have two New Yorkers. . . . One out with the white Republican leaders but in good with the Negro voters, the other in right with the white Republican leaders, but in bad with the Negro voters.

Negroes Don't Want Post-War Doles

Amsterdam News — New York, N.Y.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey's ripping assault against the New Deal administration in his Philadelphia speech last week, centered attention on an obvious failing of the Democrats to provide a clearcut, practical solution to the economic problems of the nation. The Republican Presidential nominee made it clear for the first time that the New Deal has only one plan to solve the postwar problem of reconversion to a peacetime economy and continued employment for the millions of workers-relief.

9-16-44

"This is not merely a campaign against an individual or a political party," said the Governor. "It is not merely a campaign to displace a tired, exhausted, quarreling and bickering administration with a fresh and vigorous administration. It is a campaign against an administration which was conceived in defeatism, which failed for eight straight years to restore our domestic economy, which has been the most wasteful, extravagant and incompetent in the history of the nation, and worst of all, one which has lost faith in itself and in the American people."

The relief remedy as a cure for unemployment, as planned, according to Governor Dewey by the Roosevelt administration, is one that Negroes don't want. They got enough of discriminatory doles during the period between 1933 and 1940 when the New Deal policies in this respect were at a peak and when that administration had more money and power at its disposal than any other national administration. Negroes remember the widespread discriminatory practices that existed in the distribution of relief money, food and clothing in those days, particularly in the South. They remember the vicious methods the Democrats used in the South as well as in the North to make the Negro last in what benefits there were from the distribution made from relief agencies. They remember the WPA. They remember how discrimination reached a new height in the administration of relief insofar as Negroes are concerned. They want real jobs, not doles.

9-16-44

Governor Dewey's accusation of New Deal plans to keep the young men in the army indefinitely because the administration has bungled as it did in its seven years of attempting to spend its way out of the depression and has nothing to offer the millions of GI's except relief, also centers attention again on the failure and refusal of the Democrats to pass a Fair Employment Practice Act to prevent discrimination the keen competition for jobs that will exist when the war plants are shut and the boys come marching home. With no FEPC, with a nationwide employment program erected on a relief and dole system, the Negro cannot help but continue to fare badly in the American national economy. Faith in the limitless resources and capacities of America on the part of a youthful, vigorous administration headed by Thomas E. Dewey provides the best solution and hope the Negro has in the next four years.

52a-1944

What Phila., Chicago, Boston Negroes Think of FDR, Dewey

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

By JAMES W. FORD 8-20-44

The Negro vote will be a decisive factor in the 1944 elections in seventeen northern states and particularly in eight key industrial centers of the north which control 202 electoral votes. In view of this and because of the recent poll by PM and an article in the July issue of Harpers magazine which called sharp attention to sentiments among Negro voters, we are undertaking to get the actual thinking of the Negro population.

While there must be deep concern about the dissatisfaction reflected among Negroes, we question the so-called Dewey trend among them. The implications of PM's poll are contrary to our observation and experience, and we certainly question the whole inference and conclusions drawn by PM's article. We have undertaken to find out whether PM is right or wrong.

In undertaking this survey the following questions were sent to the officials of the Communist Political Association and prominent Negro leaders in some of the above mentioned areas: (a) What is your view of the position which the Negro should take in regard to the choice of President Roosevelt versus Thomas E. Dewey? (b) What is the present attitude of the Negro people in your community on this matter?

POLL OF SENTIMENT

From Philadelphia Thomas Nabried, vice-president of the CPA of Eastern Pennsylvania reports this sentiment among individual Negroes who are in touch with their people:

Mrs. Harriet Jason, Negro school teacher, thinks that the Negro vote for President Roosevelt has been strengthened. 8-20-44

Reverend John L. Mims thinks that President Roosevelt's position was strengthened because of his resolute action in the Philadelphia transit situation.

Julius Belcher, leader in yard No. 4 at Sun Ship Yard, Chester, Pa., is sure that a majority sentiment exists for FDR.

Most of the people contacted in Philadelphia feel that President Roosevelt is overcoming discontent by his handling of the transit situation. Among others are Cornelius Thompson, board member of the Railroad Maintenance Employees Union, CIO, E. Washington Rhodes, Republican and publisher of the Philadelphia Tribune, and Albert Black, head of the PAC who says that the majority of the Negro vote in Eastern Pennsylvania is for Roosevelt—that is why the Republicans are not encouraging resistration.

Mr. Nabried concludes by stating that while 60 percent of the Negro vote is behind President Roosevelt, there is still need to increase registration among eligible Negro voters and to overcome confusion caused by the defeat of Henry A. Wallace for the Vice Presidential nomination.

8-20-44

We have from Louis Martin, Editor of the Michigan Chronicle:

"The majority of the Negro people will go down for Roosevelt. The Roosevelt-Truman ticket would get all the Negro vote in Michigan if the Administration would give some assurances to the soldiers, guaranteeing them civil liberties.

"The Negro people are also very much concerned with postwar social and economic security. That is why they support overwhelmingly the Kilgore-Murray Bill."

Negroes of Voting Age in Six Key States

Illinois	200,000
Indiana	80,000
Michigan	137,000
Missouri	165,000
Ohio	190,000
Pennsylvania	312,000

Reverend Charles Hill, prominent churchman and civic leader of Detroit responds:

"Disappointed concerning platform on polltax issue. Unless Roosevelt does something about discrimination in the armed forces we will encounter difficulties in rallying the Negro people behind the ticket.

Reverend Hill's personal opinion: "I don't care for Dewey. Roosevelt surpasses all of them.

From New England. 8-20-44

There are indications of realignments on the basis of which it is possible to organize non-partisan support for the re-election of President Roosevelt.

Julian Steele, President of the Boston Branch of the NAACP and Republican calls upon the Negro people to reelect President Roosevelt.

John S. R. Bourne, venerable leader of the Negro people in Boston, attorney and also Republican, has declared for the reelection of the President.

The political commentator of the Boston Guardian, traditional Re-elected, the forces againt him are both anti-labor and anti-Negro.

Willis A. Thomas, secretary-treasurer, AFL Federated Hotel and Waiters Union, Local 365, Chicago says: "There is no question but that we in this particular local union are all-out for the re-election of President Roosevelt. We feel that Roosevelt is carrying out a policy for the successful winning of the war and for the establishment of a lasting peace in the future."

NOT COMPREHENSIVE

The above opinions do not represent a scientific poll but they are highly suggestive because the people who have replied are atuned to political currents and are close to the people. This is a part of the replies so far received. We shall continue our round up of the actual sentiment existing among Negro voters. The actual situation must be based upon a thorough knowledge of how the Negro people feel about unsolved problems and grievances and what is being done to remedy these; about the confusion over the failure to renominate Henry A. Wallace; about the ambiguous minority rights plank in the platform of the Democratic party and about the misleading promises of the Republican Party.

We must appraise how the Negro feels about the major national and international issues that face the nation and how these are and must be solved now for the postwar period. 8-20-44

The central war and postwar issues and the stand of the presidential candidates must be made clear in order to determine accurately how colored Americans will vote in the 1944 elections. There is no need to overstate the sentiment of the Negro people in favor of President Roosevelt nor to understate that there is favor for Dewey. The people need to know the actual facts. Along this line this survey shall be con-

52a

PAC claims credit for record Negro registration

Tribune — Los Angeles, Calif.

11-6-44

Political action by 5,400,000 CIO members was claimed this week by PAC as in a "large measure responsible for record and near-record Negro voting registrations" in New York, Illinois, Michigan, California and the industrial centers of other populous states.

In New York State, where the addition of more than 500,000 war ballots means the 1944 total vote will exceed the 1940 record, Negro registration reached new peaks, PAC claimed. 11-6-44

The Harlem total was 115,000, a figure which veteran political observers said represented a new record. Re-districting since the last presidential election made it impossible to compare the present total with that of 1940. Totals for the Bronx 7th Assembly District, which has an estimated Negro population of 70,000, showed an increase of 8,000 registrations over 1940. In Buffalo and the rest of upstate New York, Negro registration closely approximated the 1940 figures.

Registration of new voters in Chicago and Cook County, Ill., meant the breaking of the 1940 record by a net of 138,366. Negroes in Chicago were reported by PAC registered up to 80 per cent of their potential voting strength.

Negro registration in Detroit and Wayne County (Mich.), the third largest mass-vote center of the nation, is reported high. However, no official tabulation by race is available. 11-6-44

All registration figures were also shattered in California. Incomplete returns showed Los Angeles with a gain of 45,000 and San Francisco with a 25,000 increase over 1940. There is no breakdown into Negro registration. Another West coast state, Washington, was expected to exceed its 1940 record of 964,000.

Registration of 61,365 Negroes helped break the 1940 Baltimore, Maryland, mark by 33,688. The total Baltimore turnout was 396,745.

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Negro's vote, big factor

Tribune — Los Angeles Calif.

11-6-44

Playing the most important election role he has yet had in his slow and tortuous march toward full American citizenship, the Negro voter was being exhorted up and down the land today to get out and vote his full strength in the national election tomorrow.

A nation which has traditionally sought to soothe the wounded pride of its largest minority at election time, in this current campaign has outdone itself in currying favor with the Negro voter. Political observers within the race, whatever their partisanship, were agreed on one thing, that what approached an all-out effort had been made by candidates for both major parties to win Negro support. 11-6-44

Stimulated by overtures from both President Roosevelt and Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey, prodded by organized labor into whose ranks the Negro has poured in unprecedented numbers in the last two years, and freed in several southern states of proscription against voting, Negroes are expected to cast ballots in larger numbers tomorrow than ever before. They will be voting in a final presidential election for the first time in four southern states, including Texas, Arkansas, Georgia and Alabama, due to the Supreme Court's decision, outlawing the "white primary."

In response to campaigns to pay the poll tax, carried on by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the CIO and the AF of L, they will be voting in the poll tax states of the South in numbers approaching five times those of any previous election. 11-6-44

In addition, thousands of migrants to defense factories of the North, their interest aroused by the vote-conscious labor unions will be casting their ballots for the first time. In Michigan alone, 50,000 new Negro voters, workers in defense plants of Detroit, Flint, Saginaw and Pontiac are expected to mark ballots.

An opinion which is backed up by the nation's most authoritative polls, the largest bloc of Negro votes is expected to go to Mr. Roosevelt. Roosevelt has been reported a three-to-one choice of Negroes over Mr. Dewey in the Gallup Poll, the New York Daily News Poll, and a Negro Digest Poll of Negro editors over the country, despite the fact that the editors, themselves, were predominantly for Dewey.

Also of national interest, Negro voters will elect two Negro congressmen in place of the one representative they have had since 1921. 11-6-44

A contest looms in Chicago between the incumbent, William L. Dawson, Democratic successor to Arthur W. Mitchell from Chicago's First District; and State Senator William King.

No contest is possible in New York where the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat, is assured election by virtue of being the nominee of all three parties in his district, the Demo-

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crats, Republicans and the American Labor Paty. He defeated Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, Harlem lawyer, for the nomination of her own ticket, the Republican.

Locally, Negro voters will figure prominently in the election of two congressional representatives. In the 14th District, in which three Negro candidates contested unsuccessfully for the nomination last May, the race is between two whites, William D. Campbell, a Republican attorney, and Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, wife of Melvin Douglas, Democrat, with the endorsement of the present office holder, Thomas Ford. Negro assemblymatic districts in the 14th will doubtless decide the issue.

11-6-44

Negro voters have also been wooed by Gordon L. McDonough, supervisor from the second district, running on the Republican ticket against Hal Styles, radio commentator, for the 15th congressional seat. The influx of large numbers of Negroes in the 15th district, which embraces the West Jefferson and Adams sectors, makes their vote one of the decisive factors in the contest.

Negro laborites have also evinced considerable interest in defeating Proposition No. 12, called by its proponents, "The Right to Work" bill, which would, its opponents say, bring about an end to labor unions in the state. Advocates of old age pensions have worked up considerable interest in Proposition No. 11, which would give persons over 60 years old $60.00 per month.

AKA Lobbyist Takes Former Fauset Post

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Appointment of Mrs. Thomas Walker Johnson, legislative representative of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority's Non-Partisan lobby here to the post of director of activities for special groups with the Democratic National committee was revealed here this week.

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9-30-44

Mrs. Johnson's connection with AKA office will be severed, at least for the duration of the campaign, it was understood.

The post was formerly held by Mrs. Crystal Fauset of Philadelphia who recently deserted the Democratic ranks and announced her support of Gov. Dewey, the GOP Presidential candidate.

Ex-Chaplain Reynolds Tells Why He Is Anti-Roosevelt

Call-Kansas City, Mo.

11-3-44

By GRANT REYNOLDS
(Ex-Chaplain, U. S. Army)

By an Act of Congress, an American receiving a commission in our military and naval services becomes an officer and a gentleman. The 95th and 96th Articles of War which govern his conduct substantiate the assertion.

While I am in somewhat dubious agreement with his becoming an officer by such legislative action, I am unalterably convinced that Congress cannot make a gentleman—white or black. The facts bear this out. In the case of making officers it has too often taken the equivalent of an act of God to confer this honor upon Negro service men.

No group of America's fighting men have faced quite the same ignominious treatment as the Negro officer. His has been an uphill fight all the way with the cards squarely stacked against him.

11-3-44

Repeatedly ignored, more often merely tolerated, frequently humiliated, the Negro officer has run the gauntlet of everything insulting and debasing that America could offer. Yet there has never rested upon any group greater responsibility.

The War department's reluctance to commission Negroes in the first place, added to the convictions strongly held by many military brass hats that "it is inconceivable that n——rs should become officers" has made it incumbent upon Negro officers to make good in spite of the dirty deal they have been given.

Must Make Good

Shifted about from place to place without reason or common sense, denied promotions and the opportunities to qualify for same, given unassigned status because the War Department in many instances indicated that it did not know what to do with them, segregated in mess halls, officers' clubs, and barracks, the Negro of-officer, in spite of his failures in some instances, has made a most creditable record in this emergency.

11-3-44

In a regiment to which I was once attached there were two colonels, although the Table of Organization called for but one. In another regiment to my knowledge there were two medical officers with the rank of major although the T. O. in this case too called for but one.

In another instance a group of colored officers, among them were men in the field grades, was sent from Michigan to the state of Washington. When these men arrived and it was discovered that they were Negroes, the military authorities told them that there was no place for them to serve out there. They, therefore, sat around, embarrassed and ashamed of their nation while the military authorities frantically sought to transfer them to some post where there were colored troops.

Many weeks passed and these men sat around in idleness while the nation pretended to prepare itself to resist its enemies. Still another parallel situation existed when a group of officers was transferred from my regiment to a post in Utah. A loyal wife, several months pregnant, followed her husband into this situation and died of heartbreak and childbirth.

11-3-44

At Fort Huachuca, Arizona, Negro officers of an infantry regiment of the 92nd Division who worked along with white officers throughout the training hours during the day, were jim crowed in the regimental mess hall.

Chaplain Reprimanded

It is to the credit of these men that they refused to eat under the circumstances. They withdrew in a body and ate their meals elsewhere at great expense to themselves.

11-3-44

GRANT REYNOLDS

Incidentally, the colored chaplain in this case was severely reprimanded by the division chaplain (a colored officer referred to contemptuously by the enlisted men as a "long coat) for sympathizing with the colored officers. The officers who thus showed his manhood by resenting such an insult was soon relieved of his assignment and shipped off into the South Pacific.

At the same post scores of Negro officers assigned to the 92nd Division were courtmartialed for what in many instances were petty offences. There never was a white officer so disciplined. The Commanding General of the Division organized a disciplinary school for so-called "inefficient officers" to which only Negro officers were sent.

11-3-44

Unjustifiable Arrangement

The white officers in this Division equalled, if not outnumbered the colored officers. I suffered the personal embarrassment at this post of having been made subordinate to a white officer with the rank of first lieutenant while I held the rank of captain.

Referred to as Black Birds

At Tuskegee, home of the famous 99th Pursuit Squadron, but derisively referred to as the home of the "BLACK BIRDS" by the Alabama crackers, there are so many Negro officers that as many as five are assigned to one squadron as adjutant. The reason for this surplus is the insistance upon War Department policy of sending Negro airmen to Tuskegee alone.

A similar unjustifiable arrangement obtained at Fort Huachuca's Medical Officers' Replacement Pool. Here the Army assigned all newly commissioned medical officers of color when no immediate position with troops could be found for them. Many of these men went to Huachuca from the Army Medical Training School at Carlyle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

11-3-44

There they would be given temporary assignments in the Jim Crow hospital until the brass hats in Washington could decide what to do with Negro medical officers. Permanent assignments were often found for these men within a few hundred miles of Carlyle. But the army would have to bring them back from Fort Huachuca to such an assignment, a distance going and coming, of more than 4,000 miles.

At one time during my stay at Fort Huachuca there were more than 20 medical administrative officers temporarily assigned to the jim-crow hospital. The haspital authorities were not only belaboured in trying to find suitable assignments for these men, but sleeping accommodations were so exhausted by the surplus that many of them were forced to sleep in the recreation hall.

When it is understood that Army officers receive eight cents per mile for traveling expenses, in addition to their pay, some idea is gained about the great expense involved in maintaining army segregation policy and the figure statistician will some day figure the cost of the War Department's segregation policy and the figure obtained will come as a great shock to American taxpayers.

The story of the Negro officer in this war, as well as that of the Negro enlisted man, is so sordid and pregnant with insult and degradation as to outrage the sensibilities of any decent American—white or black.

11-3-44

Feed Prisoners, Refuse Negroes

Officers have written me accounts of being refused food at railroad junctions, while at the same time and place white prisoners of war were being fed in the dining room. How this nation can, in time of war thus destroy the manhood of its fighting men, and then expect them to pay gladly with their lives for its protection is one of the imponderables of the ages.

If there is a moral foundation to the democratic system, our country by its treatment of its colored soldiers rent that foundation asunder. But what else can be expected when the nation's military leadership is in the hands of southerners who are totally void of human understanding because their very souls have been corrupted by a fetid and four color phobia.

11-3-44

The Arkansas-born Lt. Gen. Brehon Somervell has spoken for this leadership when he announced his plan for returning Negro service men. Said he: "I'd throw the coons into the middle of the desert."

America might just as well understand that the returning Negro veteran will be quite different from the sheltered boy who left home to join the army. He will be a hardened man, into whose training has gone the most diabolical methods of destroying human life.

11-3-44

Must Vote In November

In addition to learning how to kill with the rifle, bayonet, hand grenade, and mortar, he has been taught in many instances to annihilate a human body with his bare hands. These men, many of whom will have faced death from enemy fire and from the dreaded diseases which infest the jungles of the South Pacific cannot, and should not, be expected to assume their former role of subservience to white men blinded by color.

Nor will they ever accept with grace the role of America's forgotten men. If in pursuit here at home of blessings for which they ordered to die abroad they precipitate bloody conflict, the conscience of humanity must act as their judge.

Mr. Roosevelt and the barbaric southern mob which surrounds him have laid the basis for the most bloody outbreaks of violence after victory that this country has ever seen. Unless this mob is repudiated at the polls in November blood of Negro veterans will one day water the streets of American cities.

11-3-44

For the Negro voter the die is cast. Either he will use his vote to help avoid this impending disaster or he will perpetuate in office the blood-thirsty and deadly mob which threatens the very lives of his loved ones. A vote for Roosevelt is a knife struck into the back of a Negro service man

52a-1944

White Supremacy

Tribune — Washington, D.C.

The campaigns of Senators Lister Hill, of Alabama, and Claude Pepper, of Florida, are illustrations of the ends to which some people will go to be elected to public office. 4-29-44

In recent months, Senator Pepper has come to be known as a liberal of some note, probably because he has championed the passage of anti-poll tax legislation.

His recent campaign speech, however, reveals that poll tax or no poll tax, he still "hates niggers," and he is reported to have admitted as much in those very words in a recent speech in Florida. He is also reported, together with Senator Hill, to have told white voters in their respective states, that they are all out for "white supremacy."

Whoever is elected to office from these two States will be the ones whom the white voters believe can and will do the most to uphold "white supremacy." Hill and Pepper are vying for top honors in this respect.

Pepper is busy explaining to the voters how he happened to make a speech in a Negro church. Instead of saying it was because Negroes are Americans too, he is defending it on the ground it was a religious speech, not political, and that it did not mean he was not in favor of white supremacy. 4-29-44

We hope they will both be defeated, and all their ilk, and as far as we are concerned, it makes no difference whether there is a Senator from Alabama or Florida or not, for they are all bigots.

Jackson

The Upper South, The Lower South And Negro Suffrage

Journal + Guide — Norfolk, Va.

SHALL THE COLORED MAN in the South be allowed to vote? The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court emphasizes the fact that on this question there is today not one South but two Souths—the upper and the lower. The upper South hails the decision and boasts that the colored man may vote; the lower South condemns it and boldly announces that he shall not vote. 4-22-44

Forty years ago the South was united in its opposition to Negro suffrage; but today it is divided. Because of this change of attitude we may say that the upper South has been redeemed, while the lower South still bears the stigma of wrong doing. The action of the redeemed upper South in parting company with the sinful lower South reminds me of the spiritual we used to sing at Fisk University: "Oh sinner, ain't you glad you have left that sinful army; Oh sinner, ain't you glad that the sea gave way." Once a sinner with the lower South, the upper South now rejoices that it has left that sinful army; and it likewise rejoices that the sea, their region, has given way.

DR. JACKSON

In many areas of life all the states of the South practice racial discrimination, but in all things pertaining to the suffrage, the states of the upper South have embarked upon a plane of racial equality. Two states of this section—Kentucky and North Carolina—have neither the poll tax nor the white primary; two other states of this section—Virginia and Tennessee—levy poll tax but they have no white primary. Virginia and Tennessee have a poll tax but it falls on white and black alike.

The states of the upper South, like all the states of the union, have a registration requirement for voting, but here again little or no distinction is made in the registration of the members of the two races. The refusal to register because of color in these states is the exception and not the rule. 4-22-44

MAY RUN FOR OFFICE

In the upper South the Negro may not only vote in the primary; he may also run for office in it. Members of the race contested for public office in Virginia on April 4th. In the Democratic primaries of the cities of this state, Attorney R. Wendell Walker of Newport News, and Dr. H. T. Penn of Roanoke, ran for seats in their city councils and made a very good showing. Of a total of 3,802 votes cast in Newport News, Walker garnered 1,039, a number greater than that given three other white candidates.

Walker had a manager, he staged a forceful campaign, and he was well supported by the members of his race. Only a few Negroes failed to support him. Dr. Penn's showing in Roanoke was not as good, but it was commendable. He drew 537 votes, or 113 more than he did two years ago. He won some votes from each of the eighteen precincts; he carried two of them by a large majority. 4-22-44

In Portsmouth, Virginia, no Negro stood for office, but here Negro voters cast fifteen hundred or more ballots and no doubt influenced the outcome of the election for mayor of the city.

All honor to Portsmouth, for the leaders of this town have done more to awaken a voting consciousness among their people than they have in any other city or county of the state. The statement bears repeating that the colored man may vote in the primaries of the upper South; and as the Virginia daily newspapers remark, the skies have not fallen, either because he does vote, or because he occasionally offers himself as a candidate for office. 4-22-44

Though Negroes in the lower South are opposed by the whites of this region, their chances for participation in elections are not hopeless. Like the situation in the upper South, hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the lower South have not yet awakened to the meaning of the use of the ballot.

They are non-voters partly because of their own lethargy.

Whether they will vote in the primaries in the near future and reap the benefits of the recent decision will depend a great deal on the value they place on the opportunity for a citizen to choose who shall rule him. A colored political organization in South Carolina, known as the South Carolina Colored Democratic Primary, have made up their minds to crash the primary in this state and so may Negroes do in other states.

BRILLIANT COURT VICTORIES

4-22-44

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has won many brilliant victories in the United States Supreme Court for the entire race over the land, but frequently the full benefits are not obtained because many Negroes have not yet sought and appreciated the victories this militant organization has won. More determination in the lower South will bring it to the level of the upper South and our country will be better off.

—LUTHER P. JACKSON

Here's How Truman Came From Nowhere

News — Birmingham, Ala.

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NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS

* * *

BY PAUL MALLON

Special National Correspondent

9-6-44

THE STORY OF WHAT HAPPENED ON THE VICE PRESIDENCY at the Democratic national convention may be a long time coming out in full.

The perplexing series of events which killed Vice President Wallace, who bore Mr. Roosevelt's fresh benediction, strangely caused the unexplained withdrawal of the president's right hand man, Jimmy Byrnes, at a time when he had more delegates than anyone, and then suddenly brought Truman out of nowhere for the prize, will require a lot of personal explaining from the participants, who are not yet ready to talk. But most of it can now be told with the necessary assurance of competent anonymous authority, to wit:

Precisely the same thing happened as in 1940, when the president told a number of possible running mates that he favored them, but this time apparently he put much of it in writing.

The president's public endorsement of Wallace in his letter was made with the full knowledge that Wallace, unquestionably, could not be nominated. 9-6-44

About two weeks before the convention Democratic National Chairman Hannegan had advised Mr. Roosevelt that Wallace either should not or could not win—I think it was "should not." The liabilities of Wallace were well recognized.

* * *

Official Thought Turns To Byrnes

NATURALLY, THEN, OFFICIAL THOUGHT TURNED TO BYRNES, who had retired from a life job on the Supreme Court to function in fact as Mr. Roosevelt's vice president without the title, handling all economic and many political war matters from the White House and already authorized to handle postwar demobilization.

In private conversations, Mr. Hannegan quoted the president then as preferring Byrnes to any other man mentioned, a natural consequence of the way Mr. Roosevelt had seemed to be grooming Byrnes to take over. Several of Byrnes' friends also heard the same thing directly from the president. 9-6-44

Upon these overtures, Byrnes became interested and privately became a candidate. I think Kelly and Hague worked for him, as well as many congressmen with whom he was exceptionally popular.

But at that time (a few days before the convention) New York's Ed Flynn went to the president and opposed Byrnes on the ground that the Negro voters would object to any Southerner on the ticket and this would impede his campaign for Roosevelt in New York State. I think he said the acceptance of Byrnes would lose New York State for Roosevelt.

* * *

Truman-Douglas Letter Is Kept Under Cover

NOW, THE BYRNES PEOPLE KNEW OF THE COMING WALLACE letter, but knew nothing of a Truman-Douglas letter which was written by the president the same day, July 13, before starting on his secret trip west, although this Truman-Douglas endorsement was dated six days later, July 19, the day the convention was to open. The Byrnes people thought they had direct assurance the president would not express a preference for anyone except Wallace.

Knowing some of this, I wrote a column at the time assuming Byrnes for the job, but just as this column was reaching print Byrnes had unexplainedly withdrawn.

My assumption had been based on knowledge that when Mr. Roosevelt secretly went through Chicago and had his pre-convention conference with Hannegan out in the railroad yards (a conference not divulged for days because of voluntary censorship on Mr. Roosevelt's movements), the president told Hannegan that he and his friends could go ahead and support Byrnes for the nomination, but adding that before publicity announcing their support they should "clear" the matter with CIO, particularly Hillman. 9-6-44

* * *

Byrnes Unacceptable To CIO Chieftains

FLYNN CAME INTO CHICAGO STORMING AMONGST THE LEADERS against Byrnes. President Murray, of CIO, as well as Sidney Hillman, of CIO-Political Action, told Hannegan then that Byrnes would not be acceptable to CIO because he had used his influence to hold the line against further increase in wages in accord with the president's announced policy).

Hannegan telephoned Mr. Roosevelt on the Pacific Coast about the stand taken by Murray and Hillman, and Ed Flynn also phoned the president reiterating his views. The president then informed Hannegan that Byrnes would be a political liability and should not be nominated—that Hannegan should go ahead with Truman. The Byrnes

Justice Roberts Did Not Dissent To Historic Primary Decision

Journal + Guide — Norfolk, Va.

4-22-44

By CARTER WESLEY

In Houston (Texas) Informer convention form of government is out-moded but in no event would it keep Negroes from voting on the candidates at election.

HOUSTON, Texas—Negroes are reading many comments by white southerners' on the Supreme Court's decision admitting Negroes to the primary. Some indorse the dissent of Justice Roberts, but as a matter of fact Justice Roberts did not dissent to the decision.

4-22-44

He merely complained because the court was overruling the Grovey versus Townsend decision, which incidentally he wrote. As far as legal expression on the merits goes, Negroes can assume that it was a unanimous decision, since Justice Roberts expressed no legal argument or authority against the holding.

NORTHERN AGITATION CHARGED

One congressman said the decision was a result of northern agitation. It's rather ironical that both Justice Black of Alabama and Justice Reid of Kentucky, the southerners on the bench, concurred in the opinion; and only Justice Roberts, a Pennsylvania Yankee, dissented on the weak ground that the court ought not to overrule its previous decision.

It would seem that the southerners are straining at gnats when they try to make the decision appear as an attack upon proper states rights.

Some southerners have been quoted as saying that all the Democrats need to do now is to have the statutes controlling primaries abolished. They thoughtlessly or hopefully implied that Negroes would thus be deprived of the right to vote. Whites might select a candidate to run in a convention, but it's certain that ambitious whites will join with Negroes in a convention to select candidates too.

But the crux of the matter is that the Negroes will vote for the election of all candidates even if they should be nominated in the convention. Negroes have only been fighting for the right to cast an effective vote in any election where the issue is settled. On the other hand, in the convention form of government the majority of whites would be prevented from picking the candidate as they were in the old days.

It isn't an accident that the primary system is used almost unanimously throughout the nation. North and South. The

WAS DECISION INFLUENCED BY FDR?

4-22-44

Some congressmen and senators are saying the decision was influenced by President Roosevelt. It may be suspected that these logical minds are also blaming President Roosevelt for the favorable decision in 1927 striking down article 3107 of the statute, barring the Negroes from voting, despite the fact that he was not then on the national scene.

Or they are perhaps blaming him for the decision in '32 denying the Democratic state executive committee the right to bar Negroes, though he was not in position to influence the court then. The members of the court at that time were not predominately of the Democratic faith as they are now. The fact that the two southern justices concurred in the opinion is conclusive evidence that it was based on the law and not politics.

The gentlemen might as well contend that the Supreme Court's decision for equalization of teachers' salaries, or those holding that Negroes may not be excluded from juries on account of color were political. Truth is, the South erected walls of discrimination contrary to the constitution and democratic principles and now that the courts are getting around to erasing them to comply with the constitution, the South is crying.

4-22-44

The South ought to congratulate itself for having gotten by with these illegal practices as long as it has.

COVERS ALL SOUTHERN STATES

Some are saying that the decision doesn't cover Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia and other southern states. The decision covers all southern states where Negroes are barred from the primary by any of the "sophisticated methods." Sooner or later the South will be closer together as a result of the decision, and it is the South which will profit most.

President Has Negro Troop Guards

Argus — St. Louis, Mo.

10-27-44

NEW YORK, Oct. 21.—Smiling through a driving rain from his open car, President Roosevelt rode in triumph down Harlem's Seventh Avenue Saturday afternoon as over 100,000 Negro citizens, who had stood for hours in a downpour cheered the sight of the Commander-in-Chief accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia. The President waved continuously to the cheering throng and showed the home town folks that he was still the champ and in the best of health. He wore his grey campaign fedora and his blue Naval cape. Negroes stood several lines deep all along Seventh Avenue from 155th Street to Central Park waving wet flags and yelling "We want Roosevelt." The largest group had gathered at 125th Street near the Hotel Theresa where Sergeant Joe Louis and visiting notables from all over the country peered from vantage points in the Hotel.

Negro WACS Present

10-27-44

The trip through Harlem was part of a four-hour tour through New York's boroughs which marked the first public visit of the President to his home town since the war began. Coming to address the Foreign Policy Association at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel Saturday evening, the President arrived at the New York Port of Embarkation in Brooklyn, New York early Saturday morning. Three companies of Negro soldiers and a company of Negro Wacs were on hand at his arrival. Several thousand Negro workers greeted him also. Later he inspected the Brooklyn Navy Yard while still others cheered him as he made a short speech at a rally for his friend, Senator Wagner at Ebbet's Field. 10-27-44

Following a tour of the Bronx and a brief stop at the Waves training quarters, the President's entourage of fifteen cars crossed the Macombs Dam Bridge at 155th Street and entered Harlem. Skirting the Harlem river houses, a Federal Project, the President party moved down Seventh Avenue to Central Park and downtown Manhattan. It was estimated that three million New Yorkers saw the President during the four hours tour.

The Negro Vote--The Trend Is Toward FDR

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

By JAMES W. FORD

10-22-44

A turn is taking place in the election campaign. Dewey's demagogy is running out. Is there evidence of a decisive turn in favor of greater unity behind President Roosevelt?

It is difficult to indicate this trend without creating a sense of over-confidence. But if we stick to the facts and marshal them we can give a reply to this question and build up support without overdue confidence.

There is a large registration of Negro voters in the North and East. In Harlem, for example, 113,000 have been registered. It is impossible to make an accurate comparison with previous registrations of old Assembly Districts, but keen political analysists claim this represents a 25 percent increase over previous registrations.

10-22-44

In last Fall's by-congressional elections GOP bigwigs tried to create enthusiasm in their ranks by claiming a "Republican trend" in Harlem. The facts showed a low registration due to indifference to the GOP candidate and little enthusiasm for the colorless opponent. Put together this almost caused defeat of a Roosevelt Democrat The Republican almost slipped in by default. This is a part of GOP strategy now. They want to slip Dewey into the White House. They count on a low turnout and demagogy to create confusion and dispair.

10-22-44

This big registration is against Dewey. The GOP must not be allowed to get away with promises and demagogy. The people must stick to records and deeds. This fall we are out to elect a presidential ticket and a Congress that will back up the Administration. Dr. A. Clayton Powell, by his three party victory in the August primary, is assured a seat in Congress to team up with William L. Dawson, Vito Marcantonio and other progressive congressmen to help FDR against the Southern "white supremacy" bloc and the obstructionist Republicans.

Now we must marshal the vote for President Roosevelt who has brought more gains to the Negro people than any chief executive since Lincoln. That record is worth repeating again and again. It is: Successful prosecution of the war against fascism; two million jobs in industry; 750,000 members of trade unions; federal FEPC; 30 percent increase in Negro small businesses; weakening of Southern reaction by blows against the poll tax; ban on the "white primary"; 33 percent of all government-built, low rent housing; 30 million-dollar credits to 175,000 families; 126 percent increase in high school enrollment; greatest number of hig governmental positions in U. S. history; friendly relations on a basis of equality with Liberia and Ethiopia. **This is worth holding on to.**

10-22-44

Negro Congress Okays Truman

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

8-6-44

NEW YORK—Declaring Senator Truman a highly appropriate running-mate for President Roosevelt, whom it has previously endorsed, the National Negro congress this week urged its local councils and affiliated organizations all over the country to keep the issues clear before the Negro people, and to rally voters of all parties behind the President's re-election.

"Senator Truman's selection as vice-presidential candidate was a signal defeat for the poll taxers in the Democratic party," the congress asserts, "as they had fought to have a Southerner nominated."

Thelma M. Dale, acting secretary of the congress, characterized Senator Truman's record as "exemplary," and added, "analysis shows that he supported abolition of the poll tax, that he voted for Federal aid to education and for funds for the FEPC, and that he supported anti-lynch legislation."

Virgin Islanders To Support Roosevelt

Age — New York, N.Y.

10-28-44

The Supervisory Board of the American Virgin Islands Civic Association, Inc., voted unanimously at its meeting Wednesday night to instruct the 10,000 natives and their families resident in New York to support President Roosevelt for reelection because of his fine labor record, particularly his creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and his personal interest toward the welfare of the Virgin Islands and its people.

It was further stressed by the Board that his administration would make permanent the FEPC in order that natives qualified to hold positions on the mainland and in the islands may do so without discrimination as to race, creed or color.

No Southerner For FDR Mate-White

Daily World—Atlanta, Ga.

7-18-44

By EMORY O. JACKSON

CHICAGO, Ill.—(S N S)—Warning the Democratic convention opening here Wednesday that "if it nominates a southerner for vice-president it can kiss the Negro vote goodbye" in the 1944 presidential election, Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, reported on his trip to the European War Theater before a turnout estimated at 40,000 Sunday at the windup session of the NAACP wartime conference held in the open air of tree shaded Washington Park.

Mr. White examined the political and economic aspects of the war from a world-wide view criticized the Republican platform exposed the plot to ditch vice-president Wallace on the democratic ticket and listed the most dangerous members of the coalition of northern Republicans and southern reactionary senators.

COLORED RACES DETERMINED

On the world front, Mr White asserted that hundreds of millions of China and India, of Africa and South America, and the Carribbean "intend to secure and enjoy" the four freedoms and "put an end to the old order in which men solely because they are colored can be worked to exhaustion, exploited, despised, spat upon and derided by those whose chief right to sovereignity is whiteness of skin."

7-18-44

He added that "Russia with a passion for not only economic equality but for racial and cultural equality is committed to the fight against prejdice and discrimination."

GANDHI IMPRISONMENT

Asserting that while on his war inspection trip that he had learned of the belief that India's Gandhi and other leaders who were imprisoned by English authority would remain so until they confsesed guilt, that although since then Gandhi had been nominally freed, "the brilliant Nehrk and other Indian leaders remain in jail to furnish the Japanese propagandist with superb material to convince the colored peoples of the Pacific that the white nations of the world are liars and hypocrites when they say that this is a war for the freedom of all men everywhere."

"America," White said, is doing her share to create cynicism and sketpticism by its treatment of its Negro soldier. Congressional debates on issues affecting the Negro such as the recent debate of FEPC and refusal to abolish segregation in our armed forces."

Capitalists," he declared, "In America and England with their distrust of communist Russia their ally, were actually contributing to the downfall of capitalism and virtually forcing the oppressed people of the world into a desperate alliance with communism or a racial war which would destroy white and colored peoples."

White showed the inconsistency of the Republican platform on all of the Negro issues, even FEPC. He said that the FEPC plank seemed to be fair except when it was read in the light of the pledge to return public employment to the states. He hinted a belief that the southern states would not administer an FEPC law fairly.

7-18-44

He declared that sub-potomac democrats were "playing a brazen game of bluffing" in threatening to hurl a monkey wrench into the electoral college and replace wallace with a reactionary." What Wallace advocates today the president, himself, preached in 1933 but no longer preaches, namely; a world of the common man," White said.

RACE SERIOUS

He warned the two major parties that not merely the 783 NAACP branches and its 400,000 members but 25 other national mass organizations that drew a statement on June 17 were opposed to the northern democratic and republican organizations which have all too often played ball and made deals with southern reactionaries, using the Negro vote as the vanishing pea in a political shell game.

On his war trip he told how he had called to the attention of military authorities anti-Negro literature circulated against Negro soldiers, recommended combat activity for service units.

Pointed out reduction of Negro combat units to service division with these practices being corrected. He revealed a suggestion that he made to militant authorities to end the use of court martial of Negro soldiers for purposes of intimidation.

DUBOIS TO RETURN

White announced, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois will return to the association Sept. 1 as director of special research on a project with Negro and white scholars to develop material to present the Negro's cause at the peace table. White also said that he himself would soon tour the Pacific war theater.

Marshall Field, Chicago Sun and New York PM editor spoke. Dr. Ernest A. Hooton, of Cambridge, Mass., made the award speech in which Dr. Charles R. Drew, of Howard University, Washington, D. C., was presented the Spingarn medal.

7-18-44

A hugh parade in which the WAC band of Des Moines, Iowa, the Great Lakes and the Eighth regiment band participated, preceded the meeting. Branch delegations marched carrying signs of their branch city. It was described as one of the greatest demonstrations in the history of the NAACP.

De Gaulle Backs Memorial To Negro Governor Eboue

Daily Worker—New York, N.Y.

7-19-44

Paul Robeson, honorary chairman of the Eboue Memorial Committee has received a telegram from Gen. Charles de Gaulle, lauding the late Negro Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa "the first to attack the spirit of capitulation which threatened to engulf all of French Africa, as well as the rest of the empire."

In reply to a greeting sent de Gaulle upon his arrival in Washington last week, the French Provisional Commander commended the committee for its planned public meeting in honor of Felix Eboue.

"I am deeply moved by the initiative taken by the committee organized to honor the memory of Gen. Edoue," wired de Gaulle. "Governor-General Eboue was one of my chief and best associates.

7-19-44

"The example which he set," Gen. deGaulle's telegram continued, "is that of a great Frenchman and a great servant of the state. He has become for us the symbol of the obligation which we owe to the peoples whose destiny is allied with that of France. Our aim and objective is to establish these peoples within a federated system of the new France. The Brazzaville Conference marked the first step in that direction. Liberated France will be the France of liberty."

The message to the French leader was signed by Robeson, Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director, Council on African Affairs; Dr. Charles A. Petioni, chairman, West Indies National Council; Mrs. Amy Ashwood-Garvey, president, J. A. G Smith Political Party of Jamaica B. W. I.; Jean A. Lamoreaux, secretary, France Forever, and Mbonu Ojike, president, African Students Association and vice-president, African Academy of Arts.

CIO Threatens Bankhead For Staying In Race

Advertiser—Montgomery, Ala.

Hillman Tries To Make Him Withdraw Name Prior To First Ballot

7-22-44

By ATTICUS MULLIN

CHICAGO, ILL., July 21—With the threat of Sidney Hillman, Russian born head of the CIO political action committee, to retire their senior Senator next time unless he took himself out of the vice-presidential race, the Alabama delegation had a little feeling injected into its last caucus Friday morning.

But in spite of the threat of the Red leader, the Alabama delegation, with two exceptions, decided to go on with Senator Bankhead for vice-president until a nomination was made. Two members of the delegation, which was to have been expected, vehemently asserted their loyalty to Senator Bankhead with many an "if" and a "but" included. They were Roy McCord of Gadsden, many of whose colleagues voted to expel him from an Alabama Legislature, and Big Jim Folsom. They said they would be for Bankhead "as long as he has a chance," but they would judge of when his chances were over. All other members of the delegation said they would vote for Bankhead until the end.

Slips A Cog 7-22-44

Jim Folsom, who is actively campaigning for governor, may have slipped a cog in one of his two speeches to the delegation. Jim really defended the Wallace speech made Thursday. "You boys know, we must have the negro vote to win," he said. Jim has had bad luck in his political strategy in Chicago. When the folks from Alabama find out about Jim's attitude, he will have to start denying and explaining. But he can never explain his failure to denounce the Wallace speech or his actions of every matter before the convention.

The action of Roy McCord during the convention rings him true to form. Nobody has been surprised or expected anything else.

"I can't see how any man with an ounce of self respect could vote for Wallace after his speech," said John Toomey, of Mobile, and he was looking directly at Folsom and McCord when he said it.

PRIMARIES DUE IN TWO STATES

Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Two veteran members of the United States Senate, including the only woman senator and the dean of that chamber, face multiple opposition Tuesday in their bids for renomination.

7-25-44

Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith, 79 of South Carolina, and Sen. Hattie W. Caraway, of Arkansas, are running against four opponents each in Democratic primaries. Among the contestants are the governors of their respective states.

Smith has been in the Senate nearly 36 years, longer than any other member; Mrs. Caraway since 1932, when she succeeded her late husband, Senator Thaddeus H. Caraway.

South Carolina voters will nominate candidates for a score of other offices, ranging from cotton weigher to congressman. The congressional seat at issue is in the Third District, now held by Butler B. Hare, of Saluda, who faces two challengers.

New Deal Is Issue

With New Dealism the principal issue in the senatorial contest, the strongly anti-administration Smith is opposed by Gov. Olin D. Johnston, who carried White House support in his unsuccessful effort to unseat Smith in the 1938 "purge" campaign; anti-administration Augustus S. Merrimon of Sumter; pro-New Deal Dr. Carl B. Epps, Sumter surgeon, and Atty. Gen. John M. Daniel.

7-25-44

Negroes, heretofore barred, are eligible for the Arkansas primary for the first time, but Secretary Harvey G. Combs, of the Arkansas Democratic committee said he believed only a few could meet a new requirement making would-be voters subject to challenge on party loyalty grounds.

Mrs. Caraway, expressing confidence of renomination, did little campaigning, in contrast to the vigorous fight put up by her male opponents. Most active in this respect were Rep. J. W. (Bill) Fulbright, freshman congressman and author of the "Lasting Peace" resolution; Col. T. H. Barton, El Dorado Oil Company executive, and Gov. Homer M. Adkins, who helped direct Mrs. Caraway's two previous campaigns.

Dewey And Bricker To Meet

Arkansas voters also will choose from three candidates each for the governorship nomination and for two House seats. A runoff primary will be held Aug. 8.

In the Republican camp, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, GOP presidential nominee, prepared for a day-long conference Wednesday with his running mate, Gov. John W. Bricker, of Ohio. The two plan to map campaign strategy and to decide who should say what, as well as when and where.

Corrupt Bossism Charged 7-25-44

Both plan to attend a conference of Republican governors in St. Louis Aug. 2-3, a meeting which Republican National Chairman Herbert Brownell, Jr., predicted would produce "further evidence we will present a unified campaign with power enough to elect our ticket."

7-25-44

Brownell, at a news conference in Washington Monday, said there would be considerable campaign discussion of how the Democratic party is run. He contends it is controlled by "the bosses of the corrupt big city machines and the radical left wingers, who are closer to communism than to any other political philosophy."

Party Splits.

World-Telegram – New York, N.Y.

Both parties are now trying to heal the wounds of their convention battles. In either case party unity may make the difference between victory and defeat in November. At the moment the Republicans are better off. They left fewer throats cut and hearts broken than Mr. Roosevelt's remote-control sessions in Chicago last week. 7-24-44

Anti-Roosevelt Democrats in the South are talking third party, under some such name as "Jefferson Democrats." In Texas, unless there is an unexpected last minute deal between the present majority, anti-Roosevelt faction and the "rump" fourth termers, there will be rival Democratic tickets in that state. Mississippi, South Carolina and other southern states may also split, and possibly support a Byrd ticket with the Texas "majority," though that seems less probable now than last month. Nevertheless, Roosevelt cannot be sure of the South this year.

The two biggest convention fights last week were settled in favor of the restive south to prevent party revolt spreading beyond Texas. Wallace was ditched and Truman nominated for the Vice Presidency to appease the South, though that was not the only reason. Likewise the platform fight over the racial issue ended in a plank of evasion, and a complete defeat for Negro and northern Democratic delegates who demanded something better even than the surprisingly strong Republican plank.

Candidate Roosevelt and his convention bosses had the unhappy choice of alienating southern votes or northern Negro votes in the election, and chose the latter as the lesser electoral risk. But Negro organizations claim they hold the November balance of power in at least eight northern and border states, including New York, Ohio and Indiana. 7-24-44

There will be no Democratic split as a result of the bitter Vice Presidential fight. Wallace supporters are FDR supporters first, and the CIO labor leaders who made the convention noise for Wallace had accepted Truman secretely in advance as their best compromise.

Truman's nomination also probably has prevented a kind of underground split by those Democratic voters and local leaders who resent the "party necessity" of a fourth term candidacy, but who find Truman much better than Wallace as a potential President in case FDR is elected and does not serve out his 16 years.

Republicans have been equally, or more, successful in turning a convention Vice Presidential fight into a unity asset. The popular Warren might have been a stronger candidate—he hopes to swing the Pacific coast states anyway by campaigning—but his withdrawal enabled all factions to unite on Bricker of Ohio, a key state. All, that is, except the Willkieites; and it is doubtful at the moment that Willkie will bolt—or be effective if he does.

So at the start of the campaign Dewey's forces are more united than those of Roosevelt.

Negro Vote Declared Lost to Democrats

World-Telegram
New York, N.Y.

By the United Press.

CHICAGO, July 21.—Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council which, he claimed represents 4,000,000 Negroes, said today that the Democratic National convention's platform had cost the party the Negro vote.

"The Democratic platform does not hold out one word of hope along economic lines to 13,000,000 American Negroes," Mr. Brown said. "On the other hand, the Republican platform endorsed anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation and Fair Employment Practices Committee. 7-21-44

"Although the Negroes of the South still are to be denied their right to vote by the Roosevelt Democratic administration, the Negroes of the North will cast in November their ballots for Gov. Thomas E. Dewey."

Party Splits

Post – Birmingham, Ala.

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SOUTH'S DEFEAT LAID TO BOYCOTT

Age-Herald – Birmingham, Ala.
8-8-44

RALEIGH, N. C., Aug. 7—(AP)—A "boycott and proscription" of the South by "powerful Northern Negro groups" and the CIO's Political Action Committee caused the defeat of Southern candidates for the Democratic vice presidential nomination, Gov. J. Melville Broughton said here Monday night.

Broughton said that at the Democratic Convention in Chicago—"the wildest and most bewildering session of recent decades"—these groups seemed to have resolved that the people of the South should forever be but the hewers of wood and drawers of water within the Democratic party."

However, he predicted that President Roosevelt will be reelected in November, and the South would support the Democratic nominees.

In a radio address, which he called a "fireside chat" for the benefit of Tar Heel listeners, the governor lashed out at the PAC, declaring that its anti-Southern front at the convention was "unfair and undemocratic," and that its aim wa sto gain control of the Democratic party. 8-8-44

The Negro group, Broughton said, "were not representative of the Negro race." The Political Action Committee "assumed unwarranted" authority and its anti-Southern front was "deplored as being out of harmony with the philosophy and purposes of organized labor in America and ultimately destructive of labor's best hopes."

"I have no feud with the Political Action Committee, and I believe profoundly in the cause of labor and deeply respect its rights" he said. "But I do deny to the PAC or to my other labor group or other groups, white or colored, the right to dictate the affairs of the Democratic party or of the American people." 8-8-44

"It will be an evil day, however, for the Democratic party and for America if the Political Action Committee or any similar group shall be able to take charge of this historic party of ours and engage in the practice of proscribing and boycotting representatives of the party from that great Southern area which is in truth the cradle of democracy," he said.

NEGROES ENDORSE DEWEY

Times – New York, N.Y.

Heads of Two Church Groups Listed for Candidate

9-3-44

Herbert Brownell Jr., Republican National Chairman, announced yesterday that Governor Dewey, Republican nominee for President, had been endorsed by the Rev. David V. Jeminson, president of the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., said to represent 4,000,000 Negro members of that denomination, and Bishop David H. Sims of Philadelphia, presiding bishop of the First Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. Jeminson declared that Mr. Dewey's "appointments of qualified Negro men and women to unprecedented judicial and executive posts have proved that every Negro under his leadership can expect the highest career to which his abilities entitle him." 9-3-44

Bishop Sims asserted that the Democratic Administration could not eliminate segregation of Negroes and discrimination against them without ignoring the South, which he said was unlikely.

INTER-RACIAL GROUP PRAISES CAMPAIGN TABOO

Post – Washington, D.C.

Major Parties' Rule Against Controversial Race, Church Issue Is Cited

9-14-44

The chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees have pledged their parties to keep the election campaign free of racial and religious controversy in statements made public yesterday by Miss Marjorie J. Rank, director of the Alabama-Mississippi area of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Both party leaders expressed their abhorrence of disqualifications and hatreds based upon differences in race or religion and denounced the injection of such issues, Miss Rank declared from area headquarters here in Birmingham.

Democratic Chairman Robert E. Hannegan said that "the election itself, and the campaign that precedes it, must be a consistently democratic performance. It must be kept free of the very taint that we are engaging in war to remove from the world."

Puts Taboo On Wrangling

"This means that racial and religious differences, and the hatreds which our Fascist enemies have erected upon them, can be given no expression among us," Hannegan said. "To this resolve, we of the Democratic Party pledge ourselves in letter and in spirit."

Republican National Chairman Herbert Brownell Jr., declared that "our political system can justify itself only if we are ever alert against any doctrine or practice which seeks to exploit differences of race or religion." 9-14-44

"Consistent with this fundamental thought are the forthright statements of Governor Dewey in denunciation of political adventures who, in the hope of personal aggranizement, have tried to stir up religious and racial bigotry in its various forms," Chairman Brownell stated.

Secured By Group Leader

Both statements were secured by the National Conference of Christian and Jews and issued to the various regions by Dr. Everett R. Clinchey, president, who described them as setting "a precedent in American political life," Miss Rank said.

The conference, an agency which has for over 17 years worked to promote better intergroup relations and respect for the dignities and rights of all groups of the American people, established headquarters here, for the Alabama and Mississippi area in October, 1943.

Co-chairmen of the local round table executive councils are Dr. George R. Stuart, Dr. H. P. Shugerman, and Russell M. Grogan. Round tables are also located in Mobile and Montgomery, with others in process of organization in Meridian, Vicksburg, and Jackson Miss.. Miss Rank said.

52a-1944

Groundswell Toward FDR

N.Y., N.Y.
New Masses - May 16, 1944

GATHERING shape on the political horizon is something that is beginning to look like a trend. But instead of being the much-heralded trend against the administration and its foreign policy, it seems to be the reverse. After what happened in the latest primaries last week the gloom at the headquarters of the Republican National Committee must be thick enough to cut with a knife. And the cause of that gloom is not limited to the Democratic primary results in Florida and Alabama. There is certainly precious little comfort for Messrs. Harrison Spangler, Robert A. Taft, Herbert Hoover, and the other GOP master minds in the outcome of the Republican contest for US Senator in South Dakota or for Representative in the eighth congressional district in Indiana.

Most significant were the decisive victories won by Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Lister Hill of Alabama. These two men are the two most progressive, most consistently pro-Roosevelt Senators from the South, and Pepper especially has made a record on both foreign and domestic questions that is unsurpassed in the entire Senate. The opposition to both these Senators ignored the vital issues of the war and peace and sought to stampede the voters on the spurious issue of "white supremacy," into which were injected definite anti-Roosevelt overtones. Under reactionary fire both Senators unfortunately gave ground. The voters, however, recognized them as militant supporters of President Roosevelt and champions of the new liberal tendencies in the South; Hill was renominated by a comfortable margin of some 25,000 votes, while Pepper won a majority over the combined total of four opponents, thus making a run-off unnecessary. What is more, one of the worst poll-taxers in Congress, Rep. Joseph Starnes of Alabama, member of the Dies Committee and leading anti-administration disrupter, went down to defeat. The Washington correspondents of the New York *Post*, Charles Van Devander and William O. Player, Jr., attribute Starnes' defeat largely to the work of the CIO Political Action Committee, which indicates the potentialities of the PAC movement that Joseph North described so vividly in two recent articles in NEW MASSES.

For the first time the Negro people had a part in the Florida and Alabama victories, even though an as yet limited part.

New Masses, N.Y. N.Y. 5-16-'44

As a result of the Supreme Court decision outlawing the Texas white primary, Negroes voted in the Democratic primary in many parts of both states, though at some polling booths they were barred.

The groundswell of popular support for the Roosevelt-Hull foreign policy—which recently compelled Governor Dewey and Governor Bricker to do some verbal trimming—also made itself felt in the Republican primaries in two states. In South Dakota Sen. Chan Gurney, whom his opponent accused of having "absorbed too much of the New Deal" because he supported the administration's foreign policy, was renominated with ease. In Indiana Rep. Charles LaFollette, one of a handful of progressive House Republicans, who backed the administration on foreign policy and on a number of key domestic issues, won by an overwhelming majority. It begins to look as if the American people—Democrats, Republicans, independents—want an American foreign policy after all, instead of the pro-Hitler foreign policy that the McCormick - Patterson - Hearst newspaper axis and its congressional copy-boys have been peddling.

And it also looks as if, despite all incantations and alarums, the fourth-term movement is growing. In Alabama only one of the ten candidates for six delegates-at-large to the Democratic convention opposed the fourth term, and he got licked. In Florida, where the Byrd-for-President movement has been nurtured by reactionary Democratic leaders, only four of the eighteen delegates elected are pledged to Senator Byrd, the rest backing FDR. In North Carolina the Democratic state convention last week endorsed a fourth term and pledged the state's thirty delegates to the President. All told, of the 510 delegates elected so far in various parts of the country, 410 are supporting a fourth term.

It is still a question, however, whether the President will consent to run again. No doubt he needs the assurance that he can win decisively without being compelled to engage in political campaigning at a time when the climax of the war requires his utmost concentration. And probably he would also like to feel that the next Congress will be more cooperative, less dominated by defeatist and reactionary forces, than the present one. The primary results in Florida, Alabama, South Dakota, and Indiana show that the new Congress is not foredoomed to be cast in the image of its precursor. There is no reason to expect miracles, but there is every reason to expect results from hard work that clarifies and unites the people.

THE COLOR OF THE NEWS

Tribune - Los Angeles, Calif.
6-26-44

By L. W. Lomax Jr.

UNEQUAL? MAYBE.—But there will be a contest for the Republican nomination at the GOP convention opening in Chicago this week. Rabid Deweyites nurtured a sly hope that there wouldn't be, that they could arrange a pre-convention, no-opposition draft of their fair-haired boy and trot into the Windy City with everything cut and dried. It would have been cozy, but things happened.

On June 14, Senator Joseph Ball (Minn.) served notice that Lt. Commander Stassen's name being brought before the convention was as certain as death or taxes since he, himself, was to do the chore. Furthermore, that as a lagniappe, he would deliver Stassen's nominating speech.

And Gov. John Bricker of Ohio, the lone campaigner for the presidency, just isn't going to say die. Announcing that James G. Stewart of Cincinnati will be the man to nominate him at Chicago, Bricker made it plan to everybody that he'd be in there pitching for all he was worth until he was counted out — by ballots. Backers of the Buckeye are not at all impressed by the ". . . it will be Dewey on the first ballot" talk. They admit that Dewey will start off with more votes at the first balloting; but that's all they'll allow. The majority of the delegates, they say, are still free, by conscience and law, to vote for whom they find, in the closing hours, to be the best man. And that would be Bricker! 6-28-44

Jettisoning their plan to hold a powwow of their own before the big show, at which they could go on record as being pledged to Dewey, the New York delegation has decided that it will be a smoother trick to break the sensational news at the convention—Dewey will be so surprised he'll just have to accept their acclaim! That's winsome talk but it's more likely that such a powwow would have put Dewey in the embarrassing and compromising position of being a candidate—which he isn't,

he has said time and time again.

For all of Bricker's do or die pluck, he isn't apt to have made too impressive a showing by the time the curtain comes down at at the convention. From here it looks like Dewey is a lead pipe cinch to get the GOP nomination. Bricker was a little off the beat as an honest-to-goodness candidate; that kind of compaigning was a little dated for this day and age. Maybe if he'd just stood around and kept mum, someone would have walked up from behind, tapped him on the shoulder and said very wisely, "You're it".

* * * *

Mr. Hannagan, national chairman of the GOP, said, sometime ago, that the race question would not be an issue at the convention in Chicago. Elaborating, he declared it was all loose talk that anyone intended to bring the subject up, yet on the heels of that crisp dismissal of the admittedlly thorny topic, Mr. Willkie, in his current political series appearing in the nation's press, made an early and fulsome discourse on that very matter.

His particular point was that the Republican Resolutions Committee and the convention were duty bound to consider the civil rights of the Negro. Impishly, he reminded the GOP that it was under its leadership, circa: the Civil War, that the Negro was constitutionally guaranteed the same rights of every other citizen of the United States. 6-26-44

Despite fell circumstances, Willkie is still the titular head of the Party and his word goes a mighty long way. He is today's largest political imponderable and both parties are respectful of his word. Stubborn and agressive with his convictions, Willkie is apt to do more than write about the inequi-

the Negro. It's speculative, but not incredible, that he will personally brace the conventioneers with the proposition that all men are created equal and demand that they do something to make a reality of that threadbare idealism.

* * * *

THE SUPREME COURT—gave Roosevellt a lift in Dixie last week when it granted the beleagured pro-Roosevelt Texas Democrats permission to file a mandamus suit to compel the Democratic State Executive Committee to certify the printing of their names on the

And he can stand a lot of the

July 22 Texas primary ballot.

helping hand stuff down there, they are vexed with him and his Mr. Bilbo is so miffed with the First Lady that he has already appointed her queen of his proposed new African colony to be mustered from the legion of the New Negro; the smart, ambitious, dissatisfied upstarts.

* * * *

MORE ON THE CONVENTION — Last week Attorney Ivan Johnson, delegate, and Fred Roberts, ex-assemblyman from the 62nd district, alternate, left for Chicago with the California GOP delegation and with the promise to keep the home town well posted on things as they happened.

Race Plank Is Challenge To Democrats

PM - New York, N.Y.
6-28-44

GOP Condemns Religious Intolerance, Backs FEPC

Staff Correspondence

CHICAGO, June 28. – Despite its other inadequacies, the Republican platform contains several sharp challenges to the Democratic Party and its noisy Southern race-hating minority.

The strongest plank is on racial and religious intolerance. It reads much more determinedly than the Republicans have been acting in Congress. Here it is:

"We pledge an immediate Congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency, and the adoption of corrective legislation. 6-28-44

"We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

It is significant to note that in Congress the Republicans have done little to speed action on pending legislation for a permanent FEPC.

The Republicans also included an anti-poll tax plank, but proposed to abolish this levy by means of a Constitutional amendment.

One of the strongest planks in the Republican platform deals with Palestine. It says:

"In order to give refuge to milions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the prov[illegible] of the Balfour Declaration a[illegible] of the mandate while he pretends to support them."

The Present Political Dilemma

Daily World-Atlanta, Ga.

The place and position of the American Negro voter in the approaching national elections, presents a major problem to Republicans and Democrats alike. Both parties are anxious to have the support of Negro voters, but at the same time, they must forever steer clear of too much interest in these six million odd voters, less they offend white southerners, many of whom are already threatening to desert their party. 7-9-44

At Chicago two weeks ago, Harrison Spangler, National Chairman of the Republican Party, said "the Republicans should not be expected to do any more for Negroes than Bilbo or the Democrats will do." At Washington during the same week, Governor Arnall, in his conference with President Roosevelt, is reported to have said everything was under control down his way, "if only he could keep the Negro problem from coming too much to the fore." It is said that the President assured the governor that "that is all fixed," since the platform for the Democrats will be necessarily short.

It would appear, therefore, that the two major parties at least, are faced with a real embarrassing situation in that the Republicans are seeking to capitalize upon Democratic discontent in certain areas of the South, while the Democratic party is making a real effort to keep them in line and at the same time, not offend the Negro voter.

Outlining what he terms a yardstick by which the Republicans should be guided in their thinking toward the Negro, Wendell L. Willkie said: "Negro leaders are alert and educated and sophisticated. They know that their problem is a part of the world-wide struggle for human freedom. For their people they ask only their rights—rights to which they are entitled. The constitution does not provide for first and second-class citizenship." 7-9-44

That is sound advice, not only for Republicans but for all parties seeking the loyalty of Negro voters in this year's election. And as the Democrats near their convention date, Negroes everywhere are beginning to manifest a keen degree of interest in the position which it will take. Above every other thing, they will be interested in knowing whether the party will seek repudiation of their race in order to quiet Southern fears. For they are well aware that there can be no real justification for the opposition which has and is still being evidenced against them in certain quarters. As one southerner has stated: "Disguise the truth as we may, throw the blame where we will, on the twin calamities of the Civil War and the tragic era of Reconstruction, on the predominantly rural character of the South, on the presence of the Negro, on real or fancied poverty, on the climate, that is on geography and therefore on God—no matter how we seek to excuse our dificiencies, these remain obvious to even the most casual observer. And whatever the cause of the backwardness of the South in education, the affliction itself stifles industry, represses effort, discourages enterprise, weakens the desire for excelence, and makes us satisfied with second-rate achievements."

Dem's Choice of Southern Running Mates Censured

People's Voice-New York, N.Y.

7-15-44

The disclosure by Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, that several prominent Southern Democrats are being considered as running mate to President Roosevelt in the coming election, was this week strongly denounced by the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church and himself a candidate for Congress.

Vice-President Wallace is the only prospective candidate for the office who is left out of the criticism of the Rev. Mr. Powell, who urges Roosevelt for a fourth term and Wallace for his running-mate.

"The proposed selection of a new running-mate for Roosevelt," said Powell, "is due to the antagonisms of bigots to the liberalism of Henry Wallace." He called the selection of alternate running mates as closely similar to the "geopolitiks" of Adolph Hitler, and flatly stated that the naming of any of the chosen seven men would be strongly objectionable to Negroes.

The seven are: Gov. I. Melvin Broughton of North Carolina, who Powell said, opposed Negroes voting in his state; Gov. Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, whom he called, "as anti-Negro as Georgia"; Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, "from the cracker state of Indiana and with an undistinguished record as far as the Negro is concerned"; James F. Byrnes of North Carolina, which "holds runner-up honors in the American Lynching championships"; Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, "where Negroes must fight for civil rights"; Harry Truman of Missouri, "another lynch state"; and Sam Rayburn of Texas, "of which the less said the better." 7-15-44

"Viewing the sorry lot," declared Rev. Powell, "the Negro can only insist upon Henry Wallace and refuse to go along with any of the remaining seven. We must make our protests felt now—before the Democratic convention—placing ourselves on record as being against any Southerner becoming Vice-President of our country."

The minister called attention to the eight years of Vice-Presidency by Texas Jack Garner and his unfriendliness to the Negro. The Garner record he contrasted with the progressive views of Wallace, who is on record for the welfare of the common man.

Senator Mead Is Promoting Party Trouble

Advertiser, Montgomery Ala., 7-16-44

New Yorker Wants Plank Against Poll Tax And For FEPC

WASHINGTON, July 15.—(INS) — Hopes of Democratic harmonizers that they could avert a row over "States' rights" at the party's national convention next week were blasted by Senator James M. Mead (D), New York, today, when he demanded pledges to repeal poll tax laws.

Mead told newsmen that he and others also will go to Chicago and present a request to the convention's platform committee for insertion of a plank favoring a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The FEPC was created by executive order of President Roosevelt to insist upon no racial discrimination in industries, its activities have been resented chiefly in the South. Before the FEPC now is a protest by 16 Southern railroads against a "no discrimination" order by the agency.

The carriers branded the FEPC set-up as being unconstitutional and said that racial problems of the South cannot be settled by fiat from Washington. When the carriers registered their refusal to abide by the order, President Roosevelt designated a three-man board to see what it could do, and that board has been sitting for months. 7-16-44

"We are going to seek a universal voting plank in the platform," Mead told newsmen. "We believe there should be a clear declaration against use of the poll tax as a means of disfranchising millions of voters.

"We also will ask that the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee be made permanent. It now is dependent on annual appropriations by Congress. It is an agency which uses persuasion in a special effort to give negroes and other racial minorities a fair chance of employment." 7-16-44

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D), Wyoming, who is being boomed by Rocky Mountain States for the vice-presidential nomination, indicated that he will urge the platform committee to say something in favor of protecting small businesses and in advocacy of decentralization of industries. Montgomery, Ala

"We need decentralization," he said. "Our industry has become more and more centralized during the war, and we want something more than promises."

Support for O'Mahoney's proposal was expected to be given by delegates from all Western States, who want to preserve their wartime industrial gains in the post-war era and take care of millions of men and women who have migrated to centers of war production. Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala

Northerners in the Democratic party with an eye to votes of negroes, which could tip the scale in the event of a close presidential election, plainly were disturbed over suggestions that "for the good of the party" references to poll taxes and "white primaries" should be omitted, and the party stand on President Roosevelt's record.

It was pointed out that many other Democrats will be candidates for public office this year as well as the President and that these candidates would be embarrassed if nothing is said in the platform about poll taxes and the FEPC.

Southern Revolt

Columbia, S.C., Record

The reelection of Senator Claude Pepper in Florida and Senator Lister Hill in Alabama is hailed by the New Dealers as signifying that Franklin D. Roosevelt will win the election for a fourth term.

What it signifies, if it signifies anything beyond the fact that Senators Pepper and Hill are better than average senators on their records and entitled to reelection, is that the Southern revolt against the New Deal will come to nothing, or very little. And who actually expected it to come to anything more? What does the Republican party offer the South that could induce it to forget its traditional adherence to the Democratic standard? Nothing, for the Republican party is also interested in getting the Negro vote in the Northern states where the Negroes, on paper, at least hold the balance of power. 5-10-44

And in the final analysis the South has only two choices—to support the Democratic nominee or to support the Republican nominee. One or the other will be president.

52a-1944

An Intelligence Test

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

AN EDITORIAL

THIS TUESDAY three million Negroes will get an "intelligence test." 11-4-44

This Tuesday not only thousands of political officials go on trial before the nation's electorate.

The Negro voter, too, will be on trial.

To the Negro will fall the job of telling the nation and the world whether in eighty years of freedom since emancipation he has become a mature, keen-minded, understanding first rate citizen or whether he is a gullible, easy-to-deceive, in-the-pocket sucker for political pie-in-the-sky.

Never in history has the nation eyed with as great concern and interest the Negro voter.

Never in history have the politicians worried so much and promised so much to the Negro voter.

The very import of the Negro vote is a sign of the growing stature and increasing influence of the darker brother on the American scene.

Tuesday the Negro voter will tell the world whether he is worthy of the trust and responsibility given him in great part in twelve years of New Deal administration.

Tuesday the Negro voter will let his oppressors know with finality whether he has truly cast off the shackles of one-party tradition, whether he has reached genuine maturity in world affairs and can see and think clearly through the maze of modern life.

11-4-44

TUESDAY is D-Day on the home front in the Negro's renewed offensive for total emancipation.

Election Day, 1944, is the most important election in history for the Negro since 1864 when Abraham Lincoln faced the wrath of the Copperheads who wanted to turn the clock back to slavery.

Today a new Lincoln again confronts the might of the Bourbons who would turn the clock back.

1944 is 1864 all over again.

Unlike 1864, however, when we were still slaves for the most part, the Negro today can throw his strength to the side of progress.

Today we have the ballot.

The question before the world and the nation is whether we have the intelligence to MAKE THE BALLOT WORK FOR THE NEGRO.

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HOW CAN the Negro make the most of his vote?

First and foremost he must use it. No excuse is good enough to justify a sacrifice of the hard-won, sacred right to vote. GO TO THE POLLS AND VOTE.

Second and virtually as important is a wise, sagacious choice of candidates who have done and will do most to advance the well-being of the race and the nation.

11-4-44

The Chicago Defender believes that man to be Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Chicago Defender believes any other choice would be an American tragedy that would endanger every gain and advance the Negro has made in the historic twelve years since Herbert Hoover left the White House.

But more than that, the Defender believes that the Negro will have failed badly this Tuesday's "intelligence test" if his choice is not Roosevelt.

To turn our backs on the man who is responsible for the fact that more Negroes are employed in better jobs at better wages than ever before in history is a breach of faith with that man. That is not intelligence.

To vote for a man with a dismal record of broken promises but who makes new and more fantastic promises is the height of stupidity. That is not intelligence.

The choice is BETWEEN TWO MEN, BETWEEN TWO PRINCIPLES. It is not between parties for the Negro has enemies and friends in the ranks of both the Democrats and Republicans. Party lines have been erased in this campaign.

But principles — Roosevelt and liberalism versus Dewey and reaction — remain.

That is our choice.

That is our "intelligence test."

11-4-44

Let's hit the top mark by VOTING FOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Caught with Its Shinto Down

Afro-American 11-11-44

Two weeks ago, a writer in the Chicago Defender accused us of omitting a column by Ralph Matthews because it was pro-FDR. Balt., Md.

In this space last week we carried the facts: namely, that Mr. Matthews missed his deadline, so his pro-FDR column did not appear in its regular position until the following week.

Last week another Chicago Defender writer repeated the charge and aggravated it. The Defender story alleged that the AFRO was one of four newspapers which "gagged, censored and denied (columnists) the right to tell the truth about Presidential candidates."

Columnists were reported "in revolt against GOP-dictated newspapers and fighting against an agency that had sold them out."

That is exceedingly rough language for a newspaper to use under any circumstances, and especially so when there is no justification for the charge.

If the Defender has any defense it would be: (1) that most newspapers are hurriedly put together; (2) that a usually reliable reporter had taken advantage of his editor.

One error is bad enough, but a repetition of it is more difficult to explain.

If we were caught with our shinto down (as Vincent Tubbs puts it), we would hasten to carry the necessary retraction and to admonish reporters and columnists that the first law of journalism is to get the facts.

The Defender's shinto is down.

Negro Who Lost Race for Senator From South Carolina Says Gains Were Made

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

11-24-44

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) — Although he was defeated in his bid for a seat in the United States senate, Osceola, R. McKaine, who ran on the Progressive Democratic ticket in opposition to Gov. Olin D. Johnston, Wednesday declared, "My people have won a great victory. We have seen the glory and the coming of the Lord."

"In the more than two dozen cities, town and hamlets in which I appeared I do not believe that any other speaker, speaking in the cause of any other cause whatsoever, has found a people more intensely, more eagerly anxious and willing to support a movement or an idea than the Negro people of South Carolina who are backing this fight for political equality.

"This is indeed the third revolution, a revolt of an oppressed and distressed people, of all classes, against the men and meres who and which have long been their cruel masters and who seek to continue their domination of them.

11-24-44

"Conditions in South Carolina will never again be what they have been. The citizens of both races who believe in human decency and democratic processes constitute a majority and will not again permit politicians of great ambitions, but little talent to continue to misrule this state. I confidently expect Negroes to qualify en masse in 1946 and to become the deciding factor in 1948."

Chicago Defender

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Chicago, Ill.

By WALTER WHITE

11-4-44

An Open Letter to Herbert Brownell Jr.

DEAR MR. BROWNELL: As Chairman of the Republican National Committee and, therefore, theoretically, at least, in charge of policy and strategy of the campaign to elect Mr. Dewey President of the United States, I address this letter to you with the hope, which I trust may be proved justified by events, that an exceedingly dangerous policy now being pursued may be speedily abandoned.

11-4-44

Walter White

I refer, of course, to the thinly-veiled diatribes against Mr. Sidney Hillman. The Republican candidate and the framers of Republican campaign strategy have a perfect right to disagree with Mr. Hillman and to criticize his methods and those of the CIO-PAC.

There are some of us — and I hope a great many of us — who would disagree with the premise of some Republicans that members of organized labor have no right to organize politically. If it is wrong for trade unionists to contribute $1 or more to the campaign fund of the candidate of their choice, then it is wrong for Mr. Joseph Pew, the DuPonts and others to contribute several thousand dollars each to elect the candidate of their choice.

Danger of Anti-Semitism

11-4-44

BUT IT IS not of this I speak. I refer instead to both the clandestine and the open attacks upon Mr. Hillman because he is a Jew and because he was born in Lithuania. I have traveled many thousands of miles in various parts of the country during the past few months, particularly in the Middle West and the South. I have found that anti-Semitism of a most virulent sort has grown like a prairie fire as a result of the emphasis by Republican literature and orators upon Mr. Hillman's Jewishness.

It is my measured conviction that this kind of propaganda may conceivably result in pogroms but little different from those in Nazi Germany unless it is checked.

But my objection, as a Negro, is not wholly an unselfish one. When the flames of hate are pumped up by the bellows of political expediency in order to crucify one minority, those same flames inevitably spread to other minorities. Already studied and vicious efforts are being made to organize bodies like the late Ku Klux Klan to use whatever violence is necessary to show Negroes, Jews, organized labor and other minorities that they must neither demand nor expect justice, opportunity, nor equality now or after the war is won.

Urges Curb On Propaganda

11-4-44

29

I KNOW that Republicans, especially like him who was the most far seeing of them all and who has just passed on, Wendell Willkie, would loathe any use of racial or religious prejudice of the character to which I refer. Decent Republicans, of which there are many, would rather lose the election than to win it at the cost of increased racial and religious hatred. I am sure you belong among this number.

May I, therefore, on behalf of thirteen million American Negroes urge upon you, as chairman of the Republican National Committee, that as far as you have the power you insist that every Republican from the highest down to the most minor precinct worker refrain resolutely from any further reference to the religion or place of birth of Mr. Hillman or any other person in the present campaign? May we further urge that billboards, newspaper statements and all campaign literature refrain from calling attention to or capitalizing upon the fact that Mr. Hillman is a Jew?

11-4-44

If you do this, then at least the evil which already has been done, the consequences of which are yet to be measured and seen, will not at least be added to.—Respectfully, WALTER WHITE.

NIGERIA WANTS TO BE DOMINION

Defender — Chicago,

5-27-44 Ill.

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — The ultimate goal of the 22 million blacks of Nigeria is dominion status, according to E. E. Esua, delegate of the West African British territory to the recently adjourned International Labor office conference in Philadelphia.

Mr. Esua arrived in Washington last Sunday for a short visit. He was met by two staff officials of the British embassy and by Prince Ekot Inyang-Eboh, a countryman.

He told reporters that he considered the conference a success, and pointed out that it was the first time that a British colony had been able to send its own delegates as members of an international conference. Mr. Esua was a labor member of the empire delegation being identified as the general secretary of the Nigeria Union of Teachers.

"We in Nigeria are working more and more toward full dominion status," he declared. "The time will come when we will have our representatives in all parts of the world."

On Monday evening he was the guest of honor at an informal dinner given for him by Prince Ekot to which had been invited a number of representative citizens of the District. They heard Mr. Esua speak of the "pride and esteem" which his people have taken in Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, the late Dr. Robert Russia Moton, and other Negro leaders in America. 5-27-44

"We feel that they belong to us as well," he said. "Your achievements are ours and we shall always hold them to be exemplary of black folk."

NAACP OFFICIAL RESIGNS TO WAGE FIGHT FOR DEWEY

Globe + Independent

Nashville, Tenn.

10-13-44

52a

WASHINGTON, D. C. Grant Reynolds, administrative assistant of the Washington office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has resigned his post in order to be free to protest against the mistreatment of Negroes in the Armed Forces.

Mr. Reynolds said it is his feeling that "On November 7th, America will have its last opportunity to correct the gross injustices to the Negro soldier, by voting to put in office a Republican Administration."

Mr. Reynolds, a Congregational minister, served two years as a captain of Army Chaplains. As a result of his own Army service and through information and complaints received by him in the Washington office of NAACP, he has become an authority on the widespread abuses to which Negro troops are subjected.

He served as chaplain at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, the only camp in the United States at which exclusively Negro troops are stationed where, he states, "30,000 are maintained in a condition of degradation and cruelty."

U.S. BUSINESS EYES LIBERIA

Defender — Chicago,

11-11-44 Ill.

By ERNEST E. JOHNSON

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — With the announcement last week by the State Department and the Foreign Economic administration that an FEA mission is going to Liberia, increasing evidence is developing that the interest of the United States in this West African republic is taking on greater proportions.

Whereas it might have begun as a wartime measure, it is now proceeding as presumably a good business deal.

A full list of the members of the mission has not yet been released, but its publication is expected to reveal the kinds of specialists who will go, and naturally, give indication of the broadness of the mission's studies.

There are historic ties between the two countries which have been guarded, more or less, by American missionaries who have gone to Liberia. The exigencies of war, however, prompted this government to do more than assume a passive interest in Liberia. First a defense agreement in 1942 then a lend-lease agreement in 1943 were negotiated. Since then Liberia has joined the united nations and, of course, will have her delegates at the forthcoming conferences on the maintenance of peace.

11-11-44

Special Import

The first real cue to American ambitions in the small republic was given over a year ago by a state department official speaking at the Chautauqua institute, who observed that "Liberia looms out of all proportions to its size for a number of reasons," and expressed doubt "that in any plans which may be worked out for international security after the present conflict Liberia . . . will be one of the focal points of special importance to the Americas."

Until recently the Firestone Tire and Rubber company has been almost exclusively the only American business firm in Liberia. But it is safe to predict that with the FEA mission going there, other American business enterprises will shortly be finding an interest there.

Already what is known as the Liberian-American corporation has been formed for the purpose of exporting palm oil and palm kernels. This concern is being aided by the Commodity Credit corporation, a federal agency.

The official announcement speaks of the seaport which is to be constructed in Liberia. This is imperative if the other projects which are afoot are to have any value. Liberia does not have a good harbor. It needs an outlet for its goods and materials. Furthermore, it needs roads. At present there are not more than 150 miles of roadway in a country of 42,000 square miles.

Navy Base

The American government is aiding both in road building and in the harbor construction. The latter, to be sure, will serve other than commercial purposes. It is not unlikely that this government will ertain rights in the port which will permit its use by American naval vessels, an important feature. 11-11-44

And as Liberia develops commercially, so will it gain political stature. Its representatives have already participated in the various world conferences held under the auspices of the united nations. The view now becoming widely recognized is that with the aid of the American governmnet, a Negro republic will be aided in its bid for a place in the world organization.

52a-1944

Indiana, West Coast Papers Swing To FDR

Defender—Chicago, Ill.

11-4-44

NEW YORK—Making a clean break with its half century tradition, the Indianapolis Recorder has come out for the reelection of President Roosevelt, the National Non-Partisan League announced last week.

Through its chairman, John H. Sengstacke, the league welcomed the decision of the 47-year-old newspaper, founded by the late George P. Stewart, to go "forward with Roosevelt."

Simultaneously, on the West Coast the Los Angeles Sentinel also threw its support to the President last week, declaring "Common sense and self interest require a vote for Roosevelt. That is our choice."

With the swing of the Recorder and the Sentinel to the Roosevelt-Truman ticket, the list of outstanding Negro newspapers supporting the President continues to grow.

"Empty GOP Promises"

For 47 years a supporter of "Republican candidates and principles —and unfortunately empty promises," the Recorder's front page editorial stated, "The problems that confront the race, the nation and the world demand the discarding of every selfish or purely personal consideration.

11-4-44

"It is for these reasons we favor the reelection of President Roosevelt and the continuance in office of other sincere liberals working for the cause of universal justice and right, with goodwill toward all men regardless of race or color."

Editor of the Indianapolis Recorder is Marcus C. Stewart, vice chairman of the National Non-Partisan League.

Warns Negro Voters

The Los Angeles Sentinel solemnly warned its readers that "the time is past when Negro voters can afford to make their political choice on the basis of sentiment."

In an eight column editorial under the caption "President Roosevelt Deserves Your Vote in November," Leon H. Washington, Jr., Sentinel publisher and western vice chairman of the National Non-Partisan League, set forth the views of California Negro voters.

Warning the Negro voters against allowing sentiment to sway their votes, the Sentinel declared they "have nothing to gain from voting for the Republican, candidate for President simply because Abraham Lincoln was one of the founders of that party, or for voting against the Democratic nominee because some of the adherents to his party are unfriendly to Negro progress."

Dewey Inexperienced

"There is no question but that Roosevelt is far better equipped to conduct our foreign policy than the inexperienced Dewey," the statement continued.

11-4-44

"The next four years will be critical ones for us as American citizens and as Negroes," is the Sentinel's studied opinion. "We can either inch forward with Roosevelt or take a step backward with Dewey. Common sense and self interest require a vote for Roosevelt.

"That is our choice."

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

N.Y. Age — N.Y., N.Y.

"COPY" SHOWS OFF — Copy, my pet mouse, has become a problem mouse ever since two weeks ago, The New York Age editorially announced that it was supporting Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President, marking the second time in almost 60 years that The New York Age has supported the Democratic Party's Presidential nominee.

10-21-44

No sooner had the big press turned out the first copies of the paper and I sat at my desk giving it the once-over than I heard some loose papers on my desk move. There were no drafts from an open window so I looked up to see Copy running around, under and between the papers. He was making a noise so as to attract my attention.

"Hello, Copy" I said nonchalantly.

"Hello, boss," he squeaked lustily. "So you've went and done it, huh?" he continued.

"Gone and done what?" I corrected.

"Alright, if you want to be high-hat and use good English," Copy continued, "I'm talking about you coming out for Roosevelt. You know, boss, Susybella (my wife) and I were talking politics just the other day, and we got real worried about what you were going to do this year in the campaign. I know that you went to Chicago to attend the Republican Convention and I just sort of figured that you were going to support Dewey. I'm glad to see that you didn't come out for him, but are supporting F. D. R.

"Boss, you don't know how happy you have made me. It even takes away the grief caused by that damn cat of yours which killed Timmy and Anna, two of our little ones who strayed up into your house. If you had come out for Dewey, Susybella and I would have deserted you and moved right out of our secret hiding place.

"You koow, boss, I got a big kick out of eavesdropping the other day when someone came into your office and wanted to know what caused you to become a Republican for Roosevelt. Boy, by the time you got finished telling him about what Negroes have gotten under Roosevelt, and all about the shortcomings of the national leadership of the Republicans, it really tickled me.

"And, boss, I'm glad that you're a Republican for Roosevelt, I mean that you are still staying in the Republican party, because it needs cleaning up. I agree with what you told that would-be politician who thought that all the Republicans needed to do was to wave a picture of Abraham Lincoln in front of an audience of Negroes and expect them to cheer and forget all about the shortcomings of the GOP.

"They say an elephant never forgets, but boss, the elephant which is the Republican Party nationally now sure has forgotten the Negro. I remember way back after you came from Chicago I saw a paper on your desk which said the Republicans were going to interrogate (the word is integrate, Copy) Negroes into the national campaign. The paper said that discrimination wasn't going to be practised any more in campaign headquarters and that Negroes working there would be interrogated (the word, I repeat, Copy, is integrated) in all departments.

10-21-44

"Look, boss" Copy almost screamed at the top of his squeaky little voice, "I said interrogate and I meant interrogate. I looked 'integrate' up in the dictionary and it said 'to renew; to restore; to perfect; to make a thing entire'. And then I looked up 'interrogate' and it said 'to question; to examine by asking questions; as, to interrogate a witness.' And from all the stories I have read in the papers about the various Negroes who have been appointed as assistant this or assistant that in the campaign, I betcha they really meant they were going to interrogate the Negro in the campaign—yep, ask him "what right he had in there at all."

Now Copy, as the readers of this column already know from past experience, is a smart little mouse and he is a stickler for detail. He also is an avid reader of newspapers and press releases, so if he says that the Republican national setup has 'interrogated' the Negro in the campaign, who am I to question his interpretation of political maneuvers. And so, I changed the subject to something else.

"Copy," I asked, "do you really know that tempus fugit?"

"It does?" he asked in a startled voice so that I knew that I had him because he had never taken a course in Latin.

"Yes," I answered, "and when I say tempus fugit I mean time flies."

"Oh," Copy sighed in relief.

10-21-44

"Yes, time flies by so quickly that it seems that it was only yesterday that I came back to the office from a vacation, saddened by the news of the sudden death of Floyd J. Calvin and started writing this column.

"Actually, the time has passed by so quickly that it wasn't until I checked up the the other day that I discovered that it was five years ago on September 30th that this column first made its appearance. It has been extremely gratifying to me to watch the steadily mounting volume of mail from readers. I've enjoyed every minute of it, too".

"And so have I," added Copy.

Now I ask you how can I keep from loving that mischievous little mouse, Copy?

We Are For Roosevelt

Age — New York, N.Y.

— AN EDITORIAL —

10-21-44

We have watched with interest the great mass of publicity data emanating from the headquarters of the Republican National Committee. All of it seemingly follows the same pattern laid down by Governor Dewey — attack, criticize and smear. All of it seemingly follows the same pattern laid down by Governor Dewey — prosecute, persecute, and damn. None of it gives the cure, all of it speaks of the ills. All of it follows the line of attack usually attributed to a prosecutor.

Now Governor Dewey was a very successful prosecutor

New York County. No one will deny that. He surrounded himself with able assistant prosecutors. Governor Dewey took over in Albany on January 1, 1943, and has every indication of eventually growing up to his office. He has made a good Governor so far. He is not yet a great Governor because he has not served long enough in office to do the job necessary for him to be classed as a great Governor. As Governor, he is just embarking on a career as a statesman. He has not served long enough in office to be classed as a statesman.

62

The issue facing this country today, and it is of paramount importance, is shall this nation entrust its future to Roosevelt whose statesmanship is proven, or shall it take a chance on Dewey who has yet to prove himself in world circles into which he would be projected when he has not yet proven himself as a statesman in his own state?

We can win the war but lose the peace if we make the wrong choice.

10-21-44

Another issue facing this country today, and it, too, is of paramount importance, is shall this nation entrust its future to Roosevelt whose ideals and ideas on the masses have already been demonstrated in peace and in war, or shall it take a chance on Dewey whose advisors are the same people responsible for continued breadlines and the worst depression this country has ever known.

We can win the war but see a worse depression and riots if we make the wrong choice.

Still another issue facing this country, particularly members of minority groups of which the Negro is the largest segment, is shall this country entrust its future to Roosevelt who has proven that he feels Negroes ought to be allowed to work without being discriminated against and set up the FEPC, or shall it take a chance on Dewey who had a chance to receive credit as being the first Governor to sign a bill creating a state FEPC, but choose instead to sabotage it and kill it before it could even reach the floor of the state legislature. Moreover, Governor Dewey had an opportunity when the FEPC appropriations bill was before the Congress to speak out and ask Republican Congressmen to support it. He engaged in mere generalities and said nothing of any consequence to aid the bill.

Let's take the issue of segregation within the armed forces. The New York Age has been consistently opposed to segregation in the armed forces; so has every progressive Negro newspaper; so has every progressive Negro organization. Discrimination in any form is distasteful to us. We are vigorously opposed to it. We shall always be opposed to it.

10-21-44

But the truth is that President Roosevelt is not alone responsible for discrimination in the armed forces. That is a vicious policy which he inherited from his predecessor — Herbert Hoover. That is a vicious policy which Herbert Hoover inherited from his predecessor. It dates way back to the Civil War, even before that. Suffice it to say, that there has been discrimination in the armed forces under both Republican Presidents and under Democratic Presidents.

62

The incontrovertible fact, though, is that under President Roosevelt, Negroes in the armed forces have made greater progress than under any other President. Jim Crow still exists, but candidates for higher rank did not have to go to a Jim Crow officers' candidate school as was true in World War I. There was absolutely no discrimination against Negro candidates in any of the officers' candidate schools throughout the country in this war.

Nor can it be denied that there are more Negro officers in all branches of the service this time. And Negroes are serving in all branches of the Army, and are breaking down the barriers presently in the Navy which has Negro officers for the first time in history. All of this progress has been made under President Roosevelt. 10-21-44

Discrimination in the armed forces, we repeat, is distasteful to us. But President Roosevelt has done more than any other President to break down the traditional barriers which the southern oligarchy in the War and Navy Departments erected.

Like President Roosevelt, Governor Dewey also inherited jim crow in the armed service. Right here in New York State there are the Fifteenth Regiment, New York State Guard, and the Third Separate Battalion, New York State Guard, both of which are entirely Negro outfits. There are no Negroes serving in any other state guard regiments or units in New York State because of discrimination. Has Governor Dewey done anything about it? The answer is NO! Will he abolish discrimination in the armed forces of the country when he has done nothing about it in our own state? The answer is NO!

10-21-44

Analysis of the basic issues of this campaign, makes the course of the Negro crystal clear for election day. It is why The New York Age recommends wholeheartedly to its readers the reelection of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

We can lose the gains we have made in industry if we make the wrong choice.

10-21-44

Those are the real issues in this campaign.

But let us for a moment look at some of the other issues in this campaign, issues which are being raised to appeal to the heart and not to the mind.

52a-1944

Governor Thomas E. Dewey Has Made 16 Major Appointments of Negroes to Office

Call—Kansas City, Mo.

NEW YORK. — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey has made 16 major appointments of Negroes to important posts in New York state during his service as district attorney of New York county and later as governor of the state.

The appointments follow: 10-6-44

WHILE DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF NEW YORK COUNTY:

1. Francis E. Rivers, as Senior Assistant District Attorney, was the first Negro in the history of New York City to prosecute murder cases. Salary: $10,000.
2. Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, as Assistant District Attorney, was the first Negro woman in the history of New York City to be appointed to such a position. Salary: $6,000.
3. James Yergan, Assistant District Attorney. Salary: $4,000.

WHILE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

4. Hon. Francis E. Rivers, as Justice of the City Court of the City of New York, the highest public office ever held by a Negro. Salary $17,500. Justice Rivers was subsequently elected to a ten-year term.
5. Dr. Clilan B. Powell, as a member of the New York State Athletic Commission. This is the first time a Negro has ever held this position. No salary. Receives $25 for each meeting he attends.
6. Mrs. Bertha J. Diggs, as Secretary of the Department of Labor. This is the first time a Negro has ever held this position. Salary: $5,000.
7. Noah C. A. Walter, as a member of the Industrial Board of the State of New York. This is the first time a Negro has ever held this position. Salary: $8,[illegible]00.
8. Richard L. Baltimore, Sr., as Workmen's Compensation Claims Referee. This is the first time a Negro [illegible] ever held this position. Salary: $5,000.

10-6-44

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERALS:

9. Conrad A. Johnson, on Corporations
10. Stanley M. Douglas, on Labor
11. Philip Wat[illegible], on Election Frauds
12. Lamar Perkins, on Welfare. Salaries range from $3,500 to $5,000.
13. Mrs. Mathew V. Boutte, as a member of the Board of Visitors of the New York State Training School for Boys at Warwick, N. Y.
14. Dr. Henry O. Harding, as a member of the Board of Vis[illegible] of the New York State Hospital for the Treatment of Insipient Pulmonary Tuberculosis, Ray Brook, N. Y.
15. Rev. Ge[illegible]e H. Sims, Dr. C. B. Powell and Rev. Elijah J. Echols, [illegible] members of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.
16. Dr. Walter N. Beekman, as a member of the State War Council's Committee on Discrimination.

Hot Pot Shots

Call—Kansas City, Mo.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Any expression of a political nature in ths column is that of the writer only and is not to be construed as representing editorial opinion or policy of The Call.)

10-20-44

Someone might inform some Negro Democratic and Republican leaders as well as a few newspaper editors that the intelligence quotient of Negroes has been raised at least a point or two the past decade and that they are in no mood for being kidded about political candidates and parties.

Few Negroes are naive enough to feel that the millienium is at hand regardless of who gets the nod to the White House in November. Both major parties are more intent on winning an election than they are in any great movements that will make of America the democracy it is supposed to be.

For Negro leaders of either party to attempt to blow up mere echoes from political publicity experts into momentous declarations is somewhat silly, in this writer's opinion.

Those black spokesmen who are hailing our President as a knight in shining armor, one who is going to drop first class citizenship right into our laps are not going to win any new votes for the fourth term new dealers.

Those editors who write A. Philip Randolph right out of FEPC and FDR right in should have more respect for themselves and the readers they are trying to convince about adhering to the Democrats.

10-20-44

RANDOLPH HAS COURAGE

Few have forgotten that the FEPC was literaly wrung from the administration who either had to do something about Negroes in defense work or face 10,000 resolute black men and women in a resolute "March on Washingotn." It was the daring courage of Randolph and not that of Franklin D. Roosevelt that opened wide the doors of many defense plants to Negroes. Of course Negro newspapers and many organizaitons had quite a hand in securing defense employment also.

Equally ridiculous are those leaders who paint Dewey and his Republicans as "those sent to deliver the Negro Race from bondage. Some prominent GOP's in the House and Senate have voted right along with Bilbo and company in their efforts to thwart any Negro progress coming from congressional legislation.

Milicn Bledsoe

It was no secret of Gov. Dewey of New York shelving his own New York state FEPC about the time that it seemed pretty certain that he would become Republican standard-bearer. No adequate answer was ever given as to why the law would be "pulled" and held over until 1945 but that is not the question at issue.

10-20-44

Undoubtedly many Negroes will support Dewey and Bricker because of their aversion to a fourth term for any president, because of the Democratic administration's leaning over backwards so as not to offend the South, the ditching of Henry A. Wallace for Senator Truman of Missouri, the growing evidence of dictatorial power from the White House along with other grievances one being treatment of Negroes in the armed forces and another exclusion of Negro women from the navy Waves.

But the Republican repudiated Wendell Wilkie, whose innate honesty and conviction as to treatment of minorities failed to coincide with the practical politicians who run the GOP.

10-20-44

The difference between the parties is mainly one of degree. Prior to 1932 the Republicans had been most dilatory in their attitude towards improving the status of Negroes which partly started the trek to Roosevelt's new deal.

If politics is a business with white Americans it should be a crusade with Negroes. We should no longer be misled by those whom we look for guidance.

NEGROES EXPECT TRUTH

Negroes do not expect their political leaders and editors to bring full democracy to their doorsteps but they do expect the truth. For Republicans to belittle what Democrats have done for Negroes in 12 years is "not playing cricket." For Democrats to try to smooth over the gross injustices suffered under the New Deal are equally as bad.

We have been used to bad news in this country so that we do not have to be pampered.

10-20-44

The great tragedy in the attitude of some of these leaders in both parties is the losing of confidence in Negro leadership. Negroes will vote right even if told the truth. Politicians must remember that Negroes are reading today as never before and they can remember some things too.

Amsterdam News Boss Can't Bribe Negro Paper

People's Voice—New York, N.Y.

10-28-44

Already under heavy fire for "inept handling" of his jobs as publicity director for the jimcro Negro division of the National Republican Committee, Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of the rabidly pro-Dewey **Amsterdam News**, was shoved deeper into the political doghouse this week with disclosures that he had attempted to buy Dewey space in the news columns of the venerable *New York Age*, oldest Negro newspaper in New York.

The expose of the Powell effort to buy a Negro paper came when Sunday's *PM* published a copy of a letter signed by Dr. Powell. addressed to Ludlow Werner, editor of the *Age*. This letter offered the *Age* a $100 advertisement of the Republican party—IF the Age would publish as news Republican "canned copy" boosting the Dewey-Bricker ticket.

The Powell letter said, "We are particularly interested in the publication of the following copy which will receive: 1. List of appointments by Governor Dewey; 2. Announcement of the *Pittsburgh Courier's* advocacy of the Dewey-Bricker ticket.

10-28-44

"Continuation of the purchase of space in your paper will be contingent upon your cooperation and the position given our publicity copy."

Editor Werner indignantly returned the $100 check sent along with the letter, with a blistering reply to Publisher Powell, informing him that the news columns of the *Age* were not for sale. The Werner letter said in part:

"Please be advised that neither now nor in the future do we intend to allow the Republican National Committee, or any other committee, group or individual, to dictate to us what our policy should be as to use or non-use of publicity copy."

10-28-44

It has been freely rumored that others of the Negro press have received large sums of money for selling out to the Republican party. These sums are usually mentioned as being from $25,000 to $50,000. Such transactions are, of course, unethical and therefore done under cover, without chance of exposure.

In the case of Dr. Powell and the *Age*, however, the decision of Editor Werner to blow the lid off the attempt to buy his paper has resulted in belly-shaking chuckles hither and yon.

Negro Church Spurns GOP; Opens Doors to FDR Backers

Daily Worker—New York, N.Y.

10-30-44

The Republican Party tried to "buy" the Holy Trinity Baptist Church for a Dewey meeting next Sunday and offered big money for it, the Rev. Thomas S. Harten, pastor, charged yesterday.

The church, one of the largest in Brooklyn, formerly had as its pastor the late S. Parkes Cadman, pioneer radio preacher.

Dr. Harten addressing a non-partisan inter-racial rally, said that no amount of money could buy Holy Trinity for use of the "Dewey crowd" but that his congregation gladly gave its use free to a meeting dedicated to the President's reelection. 10-30-44

The Republicans, it seemed, wished to prevent the holding of a mass meeting called in the church next Sunday, at which Sen. Robert Wagner is scheduled to speak.

Dr. Nathan Cohen, American Labor Party leader of the 11 A. D., also addressed yesterday's rally.

Mrs. FDR Says Ballots Are Bullets for Peace

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

10-14-44

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt speaking at a huge register-to-vote rally at Golden Gate Ballroom Tuesday night, second day of registration, said the Negro people must not be accused of not registering and using the ballot, their strongest weapon to right their wrongs. "From my point of view," said the First Lady, "it is important that you show good and active participation in the election because it is the one way to right a wrong. It is not through force but in accordance with law and through the ballot that you overcome injustice. It is your strongest weapon. Therefore you who have the right to vote must not be accused of not using it because there is a group which is disfranchised and it may be said about them that they do not take advantage of their opportunities."

10-14-44

Other speakers were Channing I. Tobias; Novelist Fannie Hurst; Bishop R. R. Wright, jr., chairman of newly formed Churchmen's Committee for FDR of Cincinnati; and Mary McLeod Bethune, chairman of the meeting. Stage and screen stars Josh White, Anne Brown and Kenneth Spencer appeared. The meeting was sponsored by National Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Roosevelt.

Sailing into "delinquent Dewey" with unusual sharpness, Dr. Channing Tobias asked, **"If he cannot be trusted to stand behind a state FEPC, how can he be trusted to stand behind a national FEPC?"** 10-14-44

Attacking Mr. Dewey's state's rights loyalty, Dr. Tobias declared, "No Negro can afford to go along with a candidate who supported the state's rights soldiers vote bill and who ever since has magnified states rights as opposed to federal control. Everything we have suffered as a people in the South has been brought about because we have had no appeal beyond the sovereignty of the state."

Scoring Dewey and his party for his present tactics that runs the risk of arousing prejudice against Sidney Hillman because of his foreign birth, Dr. Tobias said it reminded him of the tactics of Simpson of Alabama in his attempt to defeat Senator Lester Hill by playing up the Negro question.

10-14-44

"All you have to do in the South," explained Dr. Tobias, "is to raise the Negro cry and it becomes unnecessary to face the real issues. However, Mr. Dewey will find out that Negroes will resent his redbaiting as much as the foreign born element he is trying to discredit."

Lauding Mrs. Roosevelt as the tried and faithful friend of the Negro people, Mrs. Bethune told the audience, "If we can do nothing else than see that she remains in the White House, it would be the duty of the Negro to register and vote."

10-14-44

"The Negro confidence in Franklin D. Roosevelt has not waned," declared Mrs. Bethune, **"because he has done more for us than any other President."** Urging the people to register to vote, she recalled how **"the New Deal's NYA taught Negro youth the use of machinery; the CCC knowledge of the soil; FEPC the thrill of a decent job, and how public housing brought many out of the slums."**

Pledges and leaflets were distributed to volunteer workers in the register-to-vote campaign.

Progressive Voters League Holds Meet

Informer — Houston, Texas

10-21-44

DALLAS, Texas — The Executive Committee and several members of the Fact Finding Committee of the Progressive Voters League held a meeting on Thursday night in the League's Headquarters. Many important issues were freely discussed and acted upon. One of the first steps taken by the body was to pass the following resolution:

"Be it Resolved that after careful study by members of the Fact Finding Committee of the Progressive Voters League, that this organization should support President Roosevelt and the Nominees of the Democratic Party in the November 7th election."

10-21-44

There was much enthusiasm evident as President J. S. Jones outlined the program which the League will carry out, operating as usual for the education of the Negro voter. Charles T. Brackins, R. A. Hester, Rev. M. H. Jackson, Mr. Beatty and the others present, pledged their support of the program ahead.

At the close of the meeting, a telegram was sent to Harry L. Seay, Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, advising him of the League's action. The names of the following persons were signed to the message sent to Chairman Seay:

J. S. Jones, president; M. H. Jackson, State president; D. B. Garner, R. A. Hester, Charles T. Brackins, M. B. Anderson, R. W. Puryear, J. A. Standfield, W. Barton Beatty, Jr., R. Q. Mason, and Mrs. O. J. Cansler, secretary.

Dr. C. B. Powell Named Assistant Director Of G.O.P. Publicity

Age — New York, N.Y.

7-15-44

A policy of no "Jim Crow-ism" in the Republican Campaign organization was enunciated Friday by Herbert Brownell, Jr., Republican National chairman, in announcing the appointment of Dr. C. B. Powell to the staff of the committee's publicity division as assistant director of publicity.

"It is not the practice of the Republican Party to encourage or tolerate discrimination or segregation because of race, creed or color," the Republican national chairman declared. "We believe with all true Americans that Jim Crowism is something repugnant to our way of life."

7-15-44

In the 1936 and 1940 campaigns, Dr. Powell occupied the same position in the Democratic national committee's setup, but he shifted parties recently saying he believes the Republican party will give better treatment to Negroes.

Pick Roosevelt And Reject Dewey On Civil Liberties

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

10-30-44

President Roosevelt's record on five current civil rights questions is declared to be "outstandingly better than Dewey's" in a study issued by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties a non-partisan civil rights organization.

The five questions, discussed in a short pamphlet, "The People's Rights and the 1944 Elections," are the soldier vote, polltax repeal, racial discrimination in production, racial discrimination in the armed forces and labor rights.

The soldier vote issue has been one of the most significant struggles of the past year," the analysis states. "Roosevelt and his spokesmen in Congress have clearly been for extending the franchise.

"Dewey and his supporters in the Republican Party have demonstrated a contrary attitude. No apologetics can obscure the fact that their relying on 48 state systems is denying several million service men and women their voting rights. The Dewey-sponsored New York State servicemen's voting law . declared to "disenfranchise a substantial portion of the potential service voters."

POLLTAX ISSUE

10-30-44

The Federation points out that polltax repeal bills have been initiated by administration supporters and that a majority of Republican Congressional delegations lined up in each case with the Southern anti-administration Democrats to defeat them.

The single measure introduced by a Republican was the Wherry proposal for a constitutional amendment outlawing the polltax, which, the Federation declares, was "never pushed" and which as a constitutional amendment would "take more than a lifetime to become law" and is "a wholly impractical device."

As to racial discrimination in industry, "Roosevelt not only established the Fair Employment Practice Committee, but fought to uphold it against the continuing attacks of its enemies." Under Roosevelt, we can look forward to "continued and accelerated progress on this fundamental issue." 10-30-44

The Federation finds the Republican plank for a permanent FEPC more specific than the Democratic, but asserts that "if the Republicans should maintain their congressional alliance with the polltaxers, realization of this plank would be most unlikely."

Dewey is criticized for disregarding the recommendations of the New York State War Council's Committee on Discrimination in Employment, and, instead, appointing a new commission to study the same problem over again.

ARMY JIMCROW ISSUE

Under Roosevelt, it is stated, segregation has been abolished from post exchanges and army transport facilities, officer training schools, rehabilitation centers. Negroes are being given constantly more responsible posts and an even higher proportion are seeing combat instead of labor service.

10-30-44

Of the Republican platform pledge, it declares: "Any call for an 'investigation' where strong action is indicated must be viewed skeptically." It also asserts that Gov. Dewey has made no move to eliminate discrimination from the New York National and State Guards.

The President, it is stated, will also "undoubtedly go down in history as the President under whose leadership labor's rights have been translated into the law of the land." Dewey's labor record as Governor of New York, on the other hand, includes "several serious moves in a backward direction" and his speeches "reflect the attitudes of America's anti-labor forces."

Too Much Political And Racial Bigotry

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

Manhattan

Editor, Daily Worker:

There were entirely too many people who voted for Dewey because of their susceptibility to the wrong kind of appeals. Of course, some of those voting for him were die-hard Republicans who couldn't make themselves vote otherwise. Some others were honest people but easily manipulated by the rabble-rousing of the newspapers. There is the third division, though, that are members of the hate groups or influenced by them. They flocked to the Republican Party as the natural outlet for the kind of campaign at a low political level they desire. 11-23-44

There's a lot of work to be done to offset these tendencies toward political and racial bigotry—educational work and strong organization of alert and far-sighted democratic citizens. May the PAC, for instance, continue its work and redouble its efforts.

OBSERVER.

"Nigger" Stories — And The Senatorial Race

Cullman, Ala. Democrat
April 13, 1944

A letter mailed April 10th to all county teachers from the office of County Superintendent R. E. Moore, and signed upon presentation by Mr. Moore, by a number of county principals, bitterly attacks the candidacy of James A. Simpson for United States Senator, and enthusiastically endorses Senator Lister Hill for re-election "as a friend of education." It also contains a reprint of an editorial from "The Lee County Bulletin" which misrepresents utterly Jim Simpson's outstanding record and work for the schools of Alabama during his 12 years in the Alabama Legislature. The letter does not dwell exclusively upon the educational issues, but attacks Jim Simpson upon other grounds, entirely aside from, and irrevelant to the school issue in the senatorial race.

Aside from the question of the ethics involved by Chairman Moore (of the Cullman Hill Committee) using county school offices as political headquarters for a political campaign, we will here discuss only one phase of the four-page political broadcast emanating from his office. A complete reply to this unfair and misrepresenting letter, will be mailed to teachers and voters alike next week.

The paragraph in the letter, labeled V. "Nigger" Stories, says in part: ". . . Senator Hill has always stood with and fought with southern congressmen against all measures which might disturb our race relations."

Is there any disturbance in racial relationship in the South? People who read, observe and listen know that the "disturbance of relationships between the races in the South has grown to be the greatest menace to our southland. They know that a multitude of Washington bureaucrats, politicians and crack-pots are trying to force social equality between the races on the South. They know the reason therefor — the acquisition of the large northern Negro vote in the coming election.

Let's look at the ugly record. The United States Office of Education in Washington has "requested" that the "facilities" of white southern colleges be made available to Negroes. Do you approve of the co-mingling of whites and blacks, such as this demand would make mandatory in colleges in the South? This is the same office that would have charge of the expenditure of federal school aid for Alabama, thru a bill favored by Senator Hill.

White Southern boys are being forced in the Army to eat, sleep and bathe with Negroes. Do you approve of this? Jim Simpson does not. Does this promote racial accord in the South?

In Camden, Alabama, white women are placed under Negro supervisors in the Farm Security Administration there under orders from Washington bureaucrats. Four of the twelve employees are Negroes, the four being supervisors whose clerical work is being done by white women. Jim Simpson states that he does not believe in forced comingling of white people with Negroes. Do you? What is Senator Hill's attitude on this directed break-down of Southern segregation?

Although kept out of the news columns of the newspapers, Governor Chauncey Sparks recently had to order several squads of state highway patrolmen to our neighboring city of Gadsden, to keep order and to protect white people from northern Negro troops. Jim Simpson openly deplores this racial outbreak. We have heard no remarks in the above regard from his opponent.

Ask Cullman workmen whom have been employed in Mobile on federal jobs, or by companies engaged in federal work there about "racial" conditions forced upon this city by Washington bureaucrats. Jim Simpson denounces this recurrent and dangerous enforced comingling of the races.

The Fair Employment Practices Committee in Washington, is the spearhead of attack on Southern segregation and racial traditions. Senator Hill voted funds for this enemy of southern racial segregation. After he had opposition — at the eleventh hour — he voted to eliminate this bureau, but funds had already been provided for it's continuation.

The United States Supreme Court recently, by an 8 to 1 decision, effectively opened the Texas Democratic Primary to Negroes, thus doing away with "White Supremacy" in Democratic Primaries. Jim Simpson deplored this move to make a black and white party of the Southern Democratic party. We have heard no comments from Senator Hill in this regard.

Do the above just constitute "Nigger stories"?

Shall we shut our eyes and accept social equality with Negroes, co-mingling on equal basis with Negroes in our schools, our offices, our party? What more evidence do the people of Alabama and of the South desire that Washington bureaucrats are planning to force Negro equality upon Southern white people? Jim Simpson opposes destruction of segregation in the South. He opposes the co-mingling of the races and bureaucratic directives to force equality between the races in the southland. How do you stand on this menace to the white South?

No one is trying to frighten our southern white people. But the record—the growing menace to white supremacy—is obvious throughout the South. No amount of denials nor ignoring of the situation lessens the danger to racial purity and to white supremacy. The people of the South are fast awakening to this real danger. Jim Simpson is leading the fight against it here in Alabama.

The friends of Jim Simpson in Cullman County are friends of the Cullman County School system. Jim Simpson's true, outstanding record in behalf of our schools will be published next week by letter.

Negro Question In Alabama Race

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 11. (U.P.)—The race question had been indirectly injected Tuesday into the campaigns of both Senator Lister Hill, and State Senator James A. Simpson as they headed into the hard-hitting home stretch of their verbal duel for Hill's seat in the Senate in the May 2 state Democratic primary.

The Montgomery law firm in which Hill practiced before going to Congress linked him to the matter by volunteering legal services to help convict a Negro lawyer arrested for illegally representing other Negroes who had been turned down by county vote registrars.

The Negro, Arthur Madison, was charged with having been active in attempting to qualify Negro voters in Alabama since December of 1943, and R. T. Rives, partner in the law firm, said he had information that Madison intended to register at least 5,000 Montgomery County Negroes to vote in this year's elections.

Meanwhile, during a speech in Simpson's behalf at Camden, Ala., State Senator Bruce Henderson, charging that white women were doing clerical work for Negro supervisors in the Camden office of the Farm Security Administration, said that a "breakdown of race segregation laws" in Wilcox (Camden) County was the result of directive from Washington bureaucrats."

Simpson himself warned in another speech that "the next step, if the Washington clique has its way will be to force admission of Negroes to white schools, as was recently threatened by the U. S. Department of Education."

Another state senator, Miller Bonner, speaking at a Simpson rally, predicted that Alabama will hold its "last strictly white primary election" this year as a result of last week's U. S. Supreme Court ruling giving a Texas Negro voting rights—construed by many as having opened the gates of primary elections to Negroes in other Southern States.

EDUCATION TOPIC OF SEN. SIMPSON

Age Herald - B'ham, Ala.
4-28-44

GERALDINE, Ala., April 27—Devoting much of his speech to a discussion of education, State Sen. James A. Simpson brought his campaign for the U. S. Senate to DeKalb County Thursday night and charged his opponent, Sen. Lister Hill, with failure to provide "one cent of federal money for Alabama schools during his 20 years of service in Washington."

"More than 20 years ago," Sen. Simpson said, "my opponent was running for Congress and was elected on a platform calling for federal aid to education in Alabama, and now, more than 20 years later, mind you, he is running again for the Senate on the same platform, despite the fact that he has done nothing to carry out that promise made so long ago.

"I know that Sen. Hill was promising federal aid to education more than 20 years ago because I have been shown a report of a campaign speech he made then. Yet, more than 20 years later, he still has not obtained the first red penny of federal aid for common schools of this state, or a single red penny to put into the pockets of Alabama's teachers under his federal aid bill."

Sen. Simpson called upon his audience to remember that Sen. Hill is campaigning now, "when he talks in all these vague generalities, and you should remember that in more than 20 years in Congress he has been unable to make the least bit of progress in what he is now promising in an effort to win reelection." 4-28-44

Sen. Simpson asserted his own idea of federal aid for education, outlined before the Alabama Education Association convention this Spring, would provide for the federal government to step out of one or more phases of the tax picture, as it has done in the inheritance tax, and leave the incomes from these levies to the states to be used in behalf of education as the states see fit.

Such a program would protect the states against federal interference in their educational programs and would enable Alabama to continue separate schools for the white and Negro, a step which Gov. Chauncey Sparks has declared is necessary for Alabama's interests, Sen. Simpson asserted.

Attacking Sen. Hill's claims that Sen. Simpson has refused to tax raidroads, mines, power companies and buslines to aid schools, the speaker said he did not vote for the money bills which were offered in the state Legislature in the names of the schools because "there was a general belief among taxpayers at that time that their money was being wasted and that any tax increase, even for the schools, was unjustified until the state had been put on a sound basis."

"We cleaned up the state government," Sen. Simpson asserted. "I am glad to say that I had a part in it, and after we had put the state on a sound business basis I voted more money for the schools. I voted, when I knew the money would be used wisely, to tax the railroads, the mines, the power companies and all the others my opponent claims I was against taxing. 4-28-44

"I was author of the teacher tenure act and the teacher retirement act and, as chairman of the Senate committee on finance and taxation, I asked Gov. Sparks at the last session of the Legislature to let us give the schools all they were asking for, through the A. E. A., for the first time in history. The governor agreed and the Legislature acted accordingly and I believe I may claim a good share of the credit, because I was the first one to mention the subject to the governor and piloted the program through the state Senate."

The Great Mistake

Age-Herald - B'ham, Ala.

What is the great and dangerous mistake of the Simpson campaigners in pressing the race issue?

It is in fomenting the alarm that an intensive campaign is under way on the part of the national government aimed at radically disrupting customs and practices in racial relations in the South. 4-28-44

It is an alarm that, if generally believed, would profoundly disturb the people of this state. Therefore, the effort of the campaigners has been to charge Lister Hill with a large measure of responsibility for the fictitious threat which they agitate.

The result, of course, is a gravely deplorable situation.

* * *

The vast majority of Alabama peo-

52a Ala

ple, we believe, are able to size up this attempt for what it is.

Relatively few, in our opinion, believe these campaigners are sincerely and seriously disturbed about the racial problem to anything like the extent they are concerned to further their political purposes.

Most of the people recognize, we believe, that despite the fact that there are serious racial problems, as there have been for years, these problems in themselves are not nearly so dangerous as is exaggerated, distorted agitation of them. Most of the people believe, we think, that serious as are certain racial problems there would be excellent hope of dealing with them satisfactorily and justly if inflammatory agitation were steadfastly avoided.

But instead of such avoidance, we have had persistent injection of the issue.

* * *

This grave mistake, of course, makes our real problems all the more difficult, at a time when the nation is fighting in history's greatest war.

There is increased danger in it, too, because some few of our people may not be able to see the situation in balanced perspective. Such misunderstanding might lead to tragedy, despite the good sense and balance of the great majority. 4-28-44

* * *

From a campaign standpoint, this mistake has been disastrous for the Simpson cause. The great majority of the people see the situation in sound proportion and resent the increased dangers and difficulties of distorting agitation. So the back-fire has been strong and widespread. Many evidences make us deeply convinced of that.

But the campaigners had gone too far along this risky road to turn back. And so now the agitation is being carried forward still more intensely in the desperate hope that enough alarm can be created to stampede some votes to their side.

It is, in our solemn conviction, a terrible thing to do at such a time.

But the more intense the agitation becomes, the steadier becomes our faith that the clear, cool understanding and the fine, fair spirit of our people generally will strongly be asserted both to minimize the dangers and to repudiate such tactics.

Hill's Plurality 24,726; Victor In 43 Counties

Advertiser—Montg. Ala

Reports In From Entire State; Brown Well Ahead Now

Lister Hill was renominated for another term in the United States Senate in last Tuesday's primary by a majority of 24,726 votes, complete and unofficial returns from the State's 2,320 boxes showed yesterday.

Hill's vote was 126,347 against 101,619 for State Senator James A. Simpson, of Birmingham. Hill carried 43 counties and Simpson 24.

In the race for place No. 2 on the State Supreme Court, Justice Joel B. Brown, the incumbent, apparently had been renominated. 5-7-44

Returns from 2,036 of 2,320 boxes gave him 78,347 votes against 67,879 for E. M. Creel, of Birmingham.

The complete, county by county tabulation of the vote for the U. S. Senate in Thursday's Democratic primary, follows:

County—	Hill	Simpson
Autauga	11.134	509
Baldwin	933	917
Barbour	1.576	1.237
Bibb	836	652
Blount	1.161	1.198
Bullock	984	433
Butler	1.467	648
Calhoun	2.833	1.520
Chambers	1.483	1.422
Cherokee	1.281	820
Chilton	1.099	740
Choctaw	681	1,064
Clarke	967	1.780
Clay	1.104	1.301
Cleburne	623	916
Coffee	2.356	1,085
Colbert	2.579	1,309
Conecuh	930	952
Coosa	763	764
Covington	1.998	1.213
Crenshaw	1.638	755
Cullman	1.996	1.487
Dale	1.913	1.170
Dallas	2.043	1,088
DeKalb	2.735	1.584
Elmore	2.074	1.752
Escambia	1.213	1.060
Etowah	3.430	3.468
Fayette	822	1.441
Franklin	2.037	2.013
Geneva	1.027	1.352
Greene	359	403
Hale	671	605
Henry	1.126	1.014
Houston	1.900	2.533
Jackson	2.910	2.355
Jefferson	18,006	14,566
Lamar	1.066	1.098
Lauderdale	2.814	798
Lawrence	1.270	1.577
Lee	1.124	907
Limestone	1.682	886
Lowndes	621	168
Macon	789	546
Madison	3.324	2.026
Marengo	1,181	1.539
Marion	1.126	2.206
Marshall	1.795	1.614
Mobile	4.420	5.816
Monroe	1.229	780
Montgomery	7.956	1.010
Morgan	3.059	1,561
Perry	496	685
Pickens	770	752
Pike	1.370	782
Randolph	1.454	1.547
Russell	1.195	869
Shelby	1.250	1,259
St. Clair	624	869
Sumter	674	602
Talladega	2.173	1.781
Tallapoosa	1.999	1.953
Tuscaloosa	3.324	2,772
Walker	3.132	3.341
Washington	698	1.600
Wilcox	696	633
iWnston	337	361
Totals	126.347	101,619

Starnes' Defeat

Daily Worker N.Y. 5-4-44

If further evidence of this is needed, the primary defeat of Rep. Joe Starnes of Alabama, leading member of the Dies Committee since its inception, provides it.

The primaries also furnished the first practical test of the Supreme Court ruling barring discrimination in primary voting. While the full story is not yet in, reports indicate that many Negro citizens were able to vote for the first time.

Victory for the President's policies was not confined to the South or to the Democratic Party Tuesday. South Dakota's Sen. Chan Gurney, one of the few Republican Congressmen who put nation above party, won renomination despite bitter opposition. 5-4-44

The lesson of these victories is that no concessions need, or should, be made to defeatism and reaction. The pro-Roosevelt forces should now take the offensive on behalf of democracy and national unity. The first step is the abolition of the poll tax.

Negroes Defeat Vote Ban In Alabama Iron-Ore Town

Daily Worker—New York N.Y.

4-3-44

BESSEMER, Ala., April 2.—After a behind-the-scenes fight in the city Democratic executive committee here, Negro voters were permitted to vote in the primary election of Mayor and Aldermen in this important ore-mining town.

At 9 A. M. when the five polling places opened, Mr. Sam Allen, Negro business man, was informed that an order had been issued the night before that Negroes, who had voted in the city primary for many years, were to be barred from the polls. 4-3-44

Mr. Asberry Howard, Negro, international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the Bessemer area, was organizing a delegation to the City Hall to protest the undemocratic ruling when word came through that the order had been rescinded. The polls were open to Negro voters by noon.

It was felt here that the original ruling reflected pressure from the "white supremacist" clique campaigning in the county and state for the election of Jim Simpson vicious anti-Roosevelt candidate for U. S. Senate. Fear of a small but influential Negro qualified electorate (only 102 voters) also was behind the recent decision placing all voting on a citywide rather than ward basis to avoid possible election of a Negro alderman.

Leaders in the office of the IUMMSWA and Negro citizens here felt that the re-opening of the polls was a significant step in the defense of democratic processes in the country.

Starnes' Defeat Significant, Says Dr. Mary Bethune

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 5-5-44

By HARRY S. McALPIN

(Washington Bureau of the Atlanta Daily WORLD and NNPA)

WASHINGTON — Typical of the reactions here to the defeat of Rep. Joe Starnes of Alabama in the primaries was that of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women and former race relations advisor in the government, a function which was viciously fought by Starnes.

Mrs. Bethune declared that the unity of the nation and the social progress which has come through expansion of social and economic problems has been greatly retarded by persons who worked deep within the representative bodies of our government.

It is indeed encouraging that the political intelligence of our nation as a whole and of our women in particular is increasing to such a degree that persons are being more and more judged on the basis of their records rather than their speeches. 5-5-44

The defeat of Rep. Starnes of Alabama in the recent primaries may be an indication that the south and Alabama in particular is setting a new high standard for its national representatives sent to the capitol of the world.

Talmadgeizing Alabama

News—Birmingham, Ala

When Alabama's senatorial campaign was opened a few weeks ago it was hoped by all good citizens that it would be fought out on a basis of the liberal views of Senator Lister Hill as opposed to the conservative views of State Senator James A. Simpson. Both men are capable and both have served with credit to themselves in the public life of the state and the nation. A debate on the authentic issues now before the American populace, therefore, would have been very enlightening to the people here at hom and of value to the nation as a whole. 4-7-44

Unfortunately, however, the record of achievement that has been established by Senator Hill has been so unassailable, his experience in office having been admitted to be of such value to his constituency, that some of the forces behind Jim Simpson have debased the campaign and now are attempting to Talmadgeize Alabama by making the defenseless Negro a whipping horse on which to ride into office. Yet it is predicted that Senator Simpson will be as disastrously defeated on this issue as was his red-gallused idol in our neighbor state.

By and large, there has been a sympathetic relationship between the white people and the Negroes here in Alabama. We understand one another and we want to work together for the common advancement of both races in the interest of a more prosperous, informed and healthful economy. Governor Sparks advanced somewhat of this idea in Birmingham Friday evening in advocating better education for Negroes, although we feel certain that he sounded the best opinion of both races in insisting on the maintenance of race segregation. 4-7-44

Senator John H. Bankhead also reproved the Simpson forces for injecting the Negro question into the race when he said in his indorsement of Hill that these two distinguished Alabamians "have struggled together through day and night filibusters to protect our Southern institutions and our established race relations and white supremacy, including the fullest state control over the franchise, state control of our schools and the separation of the races."

Not only is this true, but Senator Bankhead also was on solid ground in emphasizing the advantage to the people of Alabama and of the nation of the continued cooperation between himself and Senator Hill, both of whom have risen to positions of great influence in the Senate as a result of their experience and native ability. It is unthinkable, therefore, that the sensible people of this state would allow race prejudice, injected into the campaign without any valid reason, to disrupt the Hill-Bankhead team at this crucial period in the nation's history.—Anniston Star.

'Big Mules' Use Negro Paper To Boost Stock Of Candidate

Advertiser-Montgomery, Ala.

4-18-44

By ATTICUS MULLIN

John W. Steeley, president of the Geneva County Farm Bureau, is for Senator Lister Hill for re-election. He does not propose to bring his organization into the fight but he says "I and other members of the Geneva County bureau as well as farmers of this section, heartily endorse the accomplishments of Senator Hill in behalf of the farmers. We know him and know him to be a tried and true friend to the farmers and do not propose to swap him off at this crucial moment in the history of our nation."

Mr. Steeley makes it very clear that his county organization is not in politics but each member has the right to speak for himself.

And while Mr. Steeley joins the overwhelming march of the farmers of Alabama behind the Hill banner, a funny thing has happened to the "Big Mules" of Birmingham and their Republican national committee associates. These "Big Mules" raised the race issue in Alabama in an effort to win for their candidate. From listening to their radio talks and their political propaganda, you'd think it was the intention of the "Big Mules" to skin every negro in Alabama and hang that skin to the limb of the nearest tree. 4-18-44

But they are not as cantankerous and as blood thirsty as you'd think. The comics are now coming. In "The Nightingale Herald" of April 16th there is a two-column paid advertisement for the "Big Mule" candidate for the Senate. And the "Nightingale Herald" is a paper published for negroes under a Columbus, Ga., dateline. It is said to be published in the printing plant of a New Hampshire Republican in Phenix City.

Really, the "Big Mules" and their Republican associates can do some funny things. If they are going to obliterate the negro, why spend money advertising their candidate in a negro publication? Anyhow it goes to show the utter imbecility of those who are raising this issue.

And another thing about the "Big Mules" of Birmingham and their associates, the Republican national committee. They are so scared and so certain the people of Alabama will swamp them that they have called upon the "Big Mules" of Georgia to come into Alabama and help them.

Says Charles S. Brewton, mayor of Scottsboro, Ala.: 4-18-44

"The Big Mules have gotten the Trion factory people in Georgia to write letters to all cotton buyers, cottonseed brokers, etc., in Jackson County condemning Senator Hill for everything that they can think of. Likewise they have the fertilizer people in Georgia writing their dealers in this county in favor of their candidate. But I don't want you to get the idea that these out-of-State 'Big Mule' influences can win the election in Jackson County." 4-18-44

In appealing to the negro voters who read the negro "Nightingale Herald" published under a Columbus, Ga., dateline, the "Big Mules" claim that their candidate is supported by Walter Randolph, president of the Alabama Farm Bureau. Just why the "Big Mules" could expect negro votes by using the name of Walter Randolph in this publication is unexplainable.

SIMPSON WARNS OF VOTE DANGER

Age-Herald-Birmingham, Ala

DECATUR, Ala., April 5—A charge that the United States Supreme Court's blow at Southern white primaries is the gravest threat to white supremacy since reconstruction days was made in an address here Wednesday by State Sen. James A. Simpson, candidate for U. S. senator. 4-6-44

Continuing, he said, "Alabama can never resist effectively unceasing attacks on its bedrock traditions with the appeasement type of Washington representation with Sen. Lister Hill has provided." Sen. Simpson declared that Alabama primaries have been the basic bar against overthrow of the South's social structure.

"We Alabama Democrats," he said, "must and will find a way to preserve our white primary system because they have been the major means of maintaining our Southern civilization. I stick strictly to the record when I tell you that Sen. Hill has been aligned closely with or has adopted a policy of appeasement toward those who seek to undermine our treasured traditions. He is one of those responsible for the type of court which rendered this shocking decision against our white primary system."

Promising a "finish fight" against the mixed fair employment practices committee, Sen. Simpson charged Sen. Hill with "trying to cover up by voting for an amendment designed to shut off FEPC funds or at least force the trouble-making agency to obtain direct appropriations from Congress. But I find upon reading The Congressional Record that this vote did not mean anything, because the president already had included FEPC funds in the budget, thereby avoiding the result intended by the amendment." 4-6-44

The big issue in the senatorial race, Sen. Simpson said, is the "loss of our self-government and the necessity of getting it back from the Washington bureaucrats." Sen. Hill, he claimed, dodges the issue.

"No amount of shadow-boxing and evasion can hide the real issues in this campaign," the state senator continued. "This issue is, namely, do the people of Alabama approve or disapprove of the type of representation which Sen. Hill has furnished during his 21 years in Washington? Do they want more bureaucracy and regimentation; more coddling of the rule-or-ruin CIO bosses; more attacks on the South by such infamous agencies as the FEPC; more centralization of control; less states' rights, and more rubber stamping?

"If they believe it is time to get back to first principles and bring local government back home to our own state capitols and courthouses, then I welcome the opportunity to serve them to the utmost limit of my ability."

Alabama Voters Go To Polls Today To Make Great Decision; Interest High

World-Birmingham, Ala.

5-2-44

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Voters of Alabama go to the polls today to make a great decision, primarily between Lister Hill and James A. Simpson for the U. S. Senate. Senator Hill, symbol of President Roosevelt, is seeking re-election while State Senator Simpson, personification of the Hate Roosevelt reactionary is trying to unseat him.

Simpson has conducted a campaign in which the hatred for the Commander-in-Chief is disguised in the race issue. He has centered his attack on the FEPC, the only committee which bears the president's name. He insists that the work of the committee is an invasion of state's rights and that it is tearing down the work-traditions of the South.

His "race relations" plank does not accord with either the 14th and 15th amendments of the U. S. Constitution from which the FEPC gets its strength nor the "separate but equal" tradition of the South which the FEPC seeks to get into operation. It is an obvious denial that the Negro is entitled to equality of job opportunity and that his labor should be used to help win the war. The FEPC was created more as a war measure than as a Negro uplift instrument.

The sucker issue of "white supremacy" has been dangled before the public like a red flag before a wild bull. Racial domination, the practical concept of the supremacists, is in itself fascisism. In that light the Simpson campaign is not so much as a reaction against the New Deal as it is a revelation of the rising tide of fascism in Alabama. 5-2-44

Simpson's fool-the-people campaign has found inspiration in three filthy "hate sheets" in which one, printed in Birmingham, in addition to slurring Negroes, smearing the President's wife, has made violent but veiled threats on Negro leaders. These papers preach the Hitler race doctrines and follow his technique of "divide and conqueror," attempt to provoke the people against one another.

Doubtless the people in Birmingham and Alabama would welcome race relations as an issue if it were designed to work out a program of fair, scientific and enlightened race relations in the state. The opposite is true, it seems. The so-called "Negro issue" is being capitalized upon for selfish political purposes, I would suspect, without any real intention of white or black people in mind. 5-2-44

The race issue is not so much a political issue as it is the nation's issue. The question here is whether democracy is going to bow to fascism by sanctioning the practice of discrimination against minorities. It is the question of whether the national idea of democracy is to survive and become nationwide, or is the Simpson idea going to become the national practice. Simpson seems to desire to get to the Senate to spread his racial views.

Negro people have writhed but held their balance during this campaign, made bitter, shameful and disgusting by the dirty tactics used by some of the Simpson campaigners and supporters. Negro citizens deserve a heightened respect in the eyes of the decent white people of Alabama. For they know it is bogus to say that a people seeking to shoulder their full part of the war is seeking social intimacy with them.

Negro voters met Sunday to scan the list of candidates asking for election to office. I know not of their decision but I can present their yardstick for arriving at vote-casting decisions.

It will be a compact, uncontrolled vote, directed as a single bullet against any and all candidates who raised or caused to be raised the race issue in the cmpaign. You will note that no person nor organization has been active during the current campaign. Those who aspired to political leadership were tied-up with condidates who raised the race issue and therefore knew better than to openly espouse their cause. By uncontrolled vote, I mean that no described-as politican can truthfully say that he can deliver the Negro vote to any par-

So heated became the race issue in the now-ending primary campaign that would-be Negro politicians resorted to a strategy of vigilant silence. In the future Alabama will have some strong Negro politicians that will be a vast improvement over those of the past. They will make a contribution. I predict, that will make Alabama proud of its Negro voters. That day will usher in a new day of clean politics for the state.

Simpson Blasts Hill's Record As 'Stab At South'

Advertiser-Montgom. Ala.

4-9-44

Support Of Rooseveltian Bureaucracy Charged To Alabama's Senator

State Senator James A. Simpson, candidate for the U. S. Senate, told large crowds in North Alabama last week that "Lister Hill's principal activities as Alabama's senator have been to align himself with accursed reforms, approve the pyramiding of vicious and dictatorial bureaus, and favor any and all legislation which obviously is stabbing at the South's sacred segregation laws."

Returning to Birmingham, following "a most successful and favorable tour of North Alabama counties," Jim Simpson said he had found a "satisfying reaction in his favor in the Tennessee Valley region, where hundreds of persons told me I am gaining ground rapidly."

"Senator Hill and his workers," Simpson declared, "had sewed seeds of error and misrepresentation throughout North Alabama, but, as usual in such tactics, Hill completely overplayed his hand. My record unquestionably points to a support of the T. V. A., in which I differ with Senator Hill in only one particular. This is that I favor moving the principal offices of T. V. A. to the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, Senator Hill does not favor this, as has been indicated by the fact that he claims to be all-powerful in Washington yet is unable to do anything about his promise to the people in the T. V. A. section."

"How, I ask you," said Simpson, "can Lister Hill promise to do what the law already says must be done?" 4-9-44

Audiences Grow

Addressing audiences which had "tripled in size since my earlier tour of the section," Senator Simpson became specific in his charges that "Lister Hill as a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs has committed one of the most serious offenses an office-holder can commit. He has been using his position on that committee to obtain military commissions and soft military jobs for persons in Alabama in return for electioneering work in his behalf."

"Recently in my own county," Simpson charged, "a young man by the name of Palmer Keith attacked me over the Bessemer radio in a Hill-sponsored address. The next day Palmer Keith left for the U. S. Navy with a Lister Hill-obtained commission as a lieutenant tucked snugly under his belt. The draft had blown hot, or chill, on young Keith's neck. My investigation further shows that young Palmer Keith had haunted Hill's Washington office until he obtained the promise of this commission."

"And yet," declared Senator

Simpson. "Lister Hill has the audacity to boast of his senatorial contributions to the war effort. It was he, more than any member of the Senate, who sat idly by as scrap iron poured into Japan, as our army and our navy became an insignificant factor in the eyes of the world. Lister Hill tells us that he must remain in Washington to win the war." 4-9-44

"Big Mules' Shadows

"I tell you," declared Simpson, "that it is our boys who are winning the war. Not the Senate or the Congress. But when the issues in Alabama grew so urgent Lister Hill hastened back home to shadow-box and to create imaginary enemies, to harp on the false claim of Big Mules spending their huge war profits to defeat him. Even so, Lister remains in his hotel instead of going about to meet the pople and answer their questions."

"I have sought, and still seek," declared Simpson, "to engage my opponent in public debate on the vital issues of this campaign. Hill refuses to accept this challenge He can't answer these questions And, furthermore, he is afraid to try."

Senator Simpson said that Hill's one great hope of obtaining support was "through those persons he has placed in employment on Federal bureaus quartered inside the State. There are, he charged, "virtually thousand of them. But there are not enough of these people who actively work in Hill's behalf at the public expense to counteract the wishes of the honest people of this State."

Voting Machines

"In Hill's own county, Montgomery, there are persons on the Federal payrolls who are asking if the voting machines will reveal how they cast their vote," Simpson disclosed yesterday. "I can answer for these people that the voting machines disclose nothing but totals. It is absolutely impossible for anyone to learn how and for whom a person votes when the voting machine is used."

In reply to questions asked by teachers at Decatur and Huntsville, among other places, Simpson said "Hill's promise of Federal aid to Alabama education without also receiving negroes in our white schools is a pipe dream. The U. S. Office of Education already has instructed Alabama to open her white school facilities to negro students. What do you think this agency will ask should Federal monies be sent into Alabama for our schools. We have," he said, "enough money in Alabama for our schools, if certain tax monies could be kept in Alabama for the purpose rather than be sent to Washington. I propose adopting such a plan."

Senator Simpson also charged yesterday that Senator Hill had found the Mobile situation "so frantic that he called for A. F. of L. officials in Birmingham to hurry to the Gulf City and try to save him." 4-9-44

Senator Hill's Record

"It is too late," Simpson said, "for Lister Hill to save himself. He must run on his record, and on this record he must stand or fall. His record is one that shames Alabama, that insults the intelligence of every thinking man, that proves his allegiance to Northern interests that would sell Alabama and all the South for a mess of pottage."

"Senator Hill," charged Simpson, "no longer mentions his so-called platform. He has abandoned that published statement. Now he seeks the figments of a desperate imagination as the basis for his bid to reelection. But Alabama is not interested in wild claims, in bombast over the radio, or in mourners at the bench of hypocrisy."

Senator Simpson will swing again into south Alabama tomorrow, speaking in Wilcox, Clarke, Conecuh and Covington Counties the early part of the week. His headquarters reports that requests for speaking engagements are "too numerous to fill," although the hard-driving, soft-spoken campaigner hopes to fill them all, he said.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution-Atlanta, Ga.

The Winners: Pepper, Hill and Common Sense

5-4-44

Alabama and Florida have voted.

The result has many interpretations.

The first, an inescapable one, is that the south still goes along with Mr. Roosevelt.

It appears, from a number of letters received and conversations had, that many, many persons who may disagree with the administration in Washington, nevertheless think along this line:

> "Do I want the management of this war, which has my boy in a distant land engaged in a campaign vital to his and my future, interrupted and changed; reorganized and reshuffled?"

Those persons have answered. They went with Roosevelt.

Joining them were those who have been with him all along.

These were enough to give Senator Claude Pepper a wide margin over four opponents in Florida, and Senator Lister Hill a really impressive victory in Alabama.

Bound up in the primaries were a number of factors. The south showed its traditional resentment against direction from the north. Many eastern influences and considerable eastern money were at work in both Alabama and Florida.

Much of this money took the form of scandal, smear sheets which said anything, made any charge, and which were poured over the states, especially in Alabama.

There were the usual poems and jokes about Mrs. Roosevelt. There were the usual insinuations and charges against various persons in the administration.

While there are many persons who dislike Mrs. Roosevelt and deplore many of her activities, they also resent, in the south, slurs and slander.

So the "papers" didn't work.

THE SOUND AND THE FURY The primaries also were interesting from the viewpoint of noise. Veteran political writers were confused by so much sound and so many furious utterances and publications.

It was next to impossible to determine how much of this opposition was noise and how much of it was voting strength. It was known that, on the basis of personal followings, local issues and the like, James Simpson, in Alabama, and J. Ollie Edmunds, in Florida, each had considerable strength.

Senator Pepper's task was the more complicated because his three remaining opponents each had followings which would take away votes. Political writers thought it very possible he might be forced into a run-over. He escaped this, bearing out predictions that in his last two weeks he had, by smart maneuvers, notably a promise to remove tolls from Jacksonville's most-used bridge, gained votes.

The question now arises as to how much of the vocal opposition against Mr. Roosevelt and the administration in other states may be counted as voting strength? 5-4-44

THE RACE ISSUE Alabama saw the racial issue and the anti-Semitic issue brought into the campaign. James Chappell, editor of the Birmingham News, which supported Hill, said yesterday that the violent and vicious raising of the race issue has had a healthful effect. It demonstrated the people of Alabama had too much sense to be fooled by it. The same may be said of Florida.

Others have said the primaries demonstrated the south has no "nigger lovers" and no effective "nigger haters." The south has a big postwar job to do and it knows it must handle the race problem on its own.

As I often have said before, I know no one who asks for social equality. I know no one who wants to mix the races. It is not desirable from the viewpoint of either race. That is not the issue. Eastern influence must be kept out of the problem. The common sense of the south must solve it.

The supreme court decision has brought to the fore the question of the right to vote. There is no social equality angle to it. Voting is a question the people of Georgia must decide.

No new "secret" organization, formed to make money for its promoters, as the Klan made millionaires in the twenties, is needed. Common sense people, who believe in law and order, will be quick to condemn government by secret orders.

ROOSEVELT'S CHANCES While it is an inescapable fact that Mr. Roosevelt's political position is improved by these two victories, even though they be in the solid south, it also is inescapable that Thomas Dewey continues to gain strength.

Any unbiased political commentator must admit that the prospect, Roosevelt vs. Dewey, is a horse race. 5-4-44

It is estimated, for instance, that almost 1,000,000 voters have left New York city alone. Eighty per cent of them are Roosevelt votes. Or were in the past. This same situation is true, in varying degrees, in other states.

The South's Political Pattern

Constitution-Atlanta, Ga.

Senator Claude Pepper received more votes than four opponents combined in Florida's Democratic primary of Tuesday.

Senator Lister Hill overwhelmed Attorney James Simpson in Alabama, even carrying—and by substantial majority—that gentleman's home county. 5-4-44

Both men were stalwarts in the ranks of the national administration.

Against them had been marshalled large sums of money and all the collected angers against the Roosevelt administration and wartime restrictions.

Also included were all the prejudices, including racial hatred.

The primaries quite truthfully might have been said to be political campaigns in which the opposition ran against Franklin D. Roosevelt. It assumed, for that reason, the substance of a two-party campaign. Mr. Simpson ran, in Alabama, not against Mr. Hill, but against Mr. Roosevelt. In Florida the only two candidates who counted adopted the same course.

Had the opposition won, their victory would have had a profound national influence. As it is the victory indicates that the south still is democratic and still has a good majority for Mr. Roosevelt in the event he is the party's nominee.

It also may indicate that some of the sound and fury against the administration in other states is not so strong as it sounds.

The opposition in Alabama and Florida attained an intensity fury and articulateness which was all out of proportion to its strength at the polls.

There was one phase of the primary which must gratify every thinking southerner, no matter which candidate he or she supported. 5-4-44

In both states the opposition to the incumbents raised the race issue in a distorted and vicious fashion—almost exactly as was done in Georgia two years ago.

This was repudiated by the sound common sense of the people of Alabama and Florida just as it was repudiated in Georgia. The result in these states, following Georgia's lead, indicates the south has set a political pattern which will give small comfort to those who cry "nigger! nigger!" in political campaigns.

The southern people, possessing common sense and seeking, as best they can, to follow Christian ideals, have emphatically repudiated those who trade in intolerance, prejudice and violence.

—GIVE BLOOD—WA. 9635—

It ages us five years to watch a left-handed girl with a sharp knife carve a drugstore ham.

52a-1944

Alabama

Good News from the South

New Republic, N.Y., N.Y. May 15, 1944

THE VICTORIES of Senator Pepper of Florida and Senator Hill of Alabama should give new courage to all who believe in democracy. The voters of those two states gave a good account of themselves. All the forces of reaction were arrayed against the only two progressive Senators from the Deep South. Enormous campaign funds were at the disposal of their opponents. Thousands of young men who would have supported Hill or Pepper were in the armed forces and unable to vote. Bitter racial antagonisms were aroused to frighten the gullible. The leading opponents were able, effective, popular public figures—the strongest men in the conservative camp. Yet Hill and Pepper came through with votes to spare.

Most heartening fact of all is that the violent anti-Negro campaign did not succeed—in fact, it boomeranged. Particularly in Alabama it was carried too far, and many responsible white leaders who did not want the status quo disturbed called upon the inciters of race hate to stop before violence occurred.

In Alabama there was one upset that almost no one expected. Representative Joe Starnes, vice-chairman of the Dies Committee and an effective rabble-rouser, was defeated. The success of Albert Rains, his opponent, could hardly be called a clear-cut victory for liberalism, but his defeat of Starnes showed that one of the most unenlightened sections of the state rebelled against the demagoguery and effort to be all things to all men of a Representative who thought his position was secure.

Starnes was the darling of the Birmingham industrialists. They looked upon him as a possible successor to Senator Bankhead. He was a regular tub-thumper at meetings of the State Chamber of Commerce and of the Associated Industries of Alabama (NAM subsidiary). Then he would go back to his district. In the northern part of it he would shout for the TVA, for which he was in fact an effective fighter in Congress. In Gadsden, where labor was strong, Starnes said he was a friend of labor. In the rural districts he damned John L. Lewis and shrieked against aliens. His opponent, Rains, had the support of labor, but that was not the decisive factor. A lot of people just saw through Joe Starnes.

In Jefferson County (Birmingham), Representative Newsome was forced into a run-off. Two years ago he defeated Luther Patrick, a New Deal partisan who was a good deal of a clown. Many liberals voted against Patrick then because they were disgusted with his rattlebrain tactics and buffoonery; they thought that they would prefer a sensible middle-of-the-roader like Newsome. Now most of them are returning to Patrick, having found Newsome thoroughly reactionary. All signs point to a close contest.

Race Issue Boils In Alabama Senate Race

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

4-22-44

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (ANP)—The race question which has been smouldering beneath the heated campaigns being waged by Sen. Lister Hill and State Sen. James A. Simpson for the United States senate flamed into the open Tuesday as they headed into the hard-hitting home stretch. The battle is scheduled to end with the holding of the state Democratic primary on May 2.

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4-22-44

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4-22-44

Meanwhile during a speech in Simpson's behalf at Camden, Ala., State Sen. Bruce Henderson, charging that white women were doing clerical work for Negro supervisors in the Camden office of the Farm Security administration, said that "a breakdown of race segregation laws" in Wilcox (Camden) county was the "direct result of directives from Washington bureaucrats."

Simpson himself warned in another speech that "the next step, if the Washington clique has its way it will be to force admission of Negroes to white schools as was recently threatened by the U. S. Department of Education."

4-22-44

Another state senator, Miller Bonner, speaking at a Simpson rally, predicted that Alabama will hold its "last strictly white primary election" this year as a result of the U. S. Supreme court ruling giving Texas Negroes voting rights—construed by many as having opened the gates of primary elections to Negroes in other southern states.

Race Issue Hot in Dixie

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

4-22-44

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4-22-44

52a-1944

Alabama

PLAGUE FALLS ON ALABAMA

Courier-Journal - Louisville, Ky

'White supremacy' cry raised by anti-Rooseveltians to stir prejudice in fight to unseat Senator Hill

4-14-44

By TARLETON COLLIER

Birmingham, Ala.

THE dogwood is white on the hills, Alabama already is fragrant with spring, but a season of another sort also is here to mock this beauty with a moral bitterness and stench.

It is one of those plague seasons of politics which the South knows now and then, when the air is miasmic with the poison of race prejudice, deliberately loosed by men for their advantage.

Now, the fight of James A. Simpson of Birmingham to unseat Lister Hill of Montgomery as United States Senator, to be decided in the primary May 2, is logically an occasion for debate and decisive test on the great point of factional dispute within the Democratic Party—whether to continue or turn back from the policies of the Roosevelt administration. After all, this is what the commotion is really about, and everybody knows it.

It would be hard to find two men better fitted than these antagonists, in capacity, associations and predilections, to have it out on this issue.

On one hand there is Jim Simpson, polished, able, massive, personally charming. He is a big-shot lawyer, among whose clients at one time or another have been most of the large interests that dominate the affairs of the Birmingham industrial area and, for that matter, to a large extent the industrial South.

In his third term as a State Senator, Mr. Simpson is distrusted, if not hated, by organized labor, which thinks it saw his guiding hand in passage of the state's rigid "anti-labor" legislation. He is currently being lambasted by the opposition as a self-recorded representative of private utilities when, as a legislator, he refused to vote on a bill extending rural electrification. His backers are Alabama's "big mules," of the late Gov. Bibb Graves' classic definition.

On the other hand is Lister Hill, himself distinguished in record, appearance, eloquence and Alabama tradition, the majority whip of the United States Senate, a liberal for all his occasional departures from the administration line in deference to the immovable attitudes of his constituency, and one of the 13 Senators described as "the last of the New Dealers" who voted forlornly to uphold the President's veto of the tax bill.

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YOU couldn't ask, therefore, for more proper champions for an honest jousting on the one thing that counts. However, this natural issue, in spite of Senator Hill's efforts to bring it out, is obscured today in the essential appeal to voters by the noxious screen of the old, tried-and-true gas of "white supremacy" with new and virulent ingredients. 4-14-44

Any Alabaman, indeed, anybody in the United States with the slightest sophistication in politics, can tell you what has happened. The "big mules" of Alabama are not unique. They have been stewing in the bitter juices of their discontent for ten years, ever since the life line of the early New Deal hauled them out of the slough and, shaking themselves free of the mire of despond, they perceived with dismay the shape of the strange, new land on which they stood.

Their great problem, in every subsequent biennium, and particularly in 1936 and 1940, has been that of finding a means of winning the rank and file of the voters. Nothing seemed to work until, at last, circumstances, trends and incidents put into their hands a new plausibility for reviving the grisly specter of Southern fears, for identifying the New Deal with "social equality."

They began hammering away at it with definite intent in 1942, when Frank Dixon, then Governor, refused to sign a government contract for defense goods from state prison industries which contained the standard anti-discrimination clause. He turned loose a blast that set the state frothing. It was as clear as day that here was the point.

At that time it was generally supposed that Governor Dixon would be the one to take on Lister Hill, but Mr. Simpson somehow got the inside track, the shot at the title, the use of the issue. Like a foundation, at the base of his advertisements and posters is the triple slogan: "States' Rights—White Supremacy—Less Bureaucracy."

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OUT of the well-fertilized soil sprang a crop of inflammatory growths, the journals of passionate invective. For some time the two principal fomentors of the issue have been the Greensboro Watchman, a Black Belt weekly, and Alabama, a slick news weekly published in Birmingham and easily identified with the economic powers of the region. The editor of the Watchman, Hamner Cobbs, far beyond being reactionary, is even atavistic, actually living spiritually and mentally in The Reconstruction, harried by the terrors and the presences of those dark days. The other publication has been simply an organ, and never subtle about it.

The two have increased the tempo of their drive for white supremacy, now that the campaign has started. Shrieking the name and doings or spreading the pictured image of Eleanor Roosevelt whenever there was a dark-skinned face in the background, they have found fresh ammunition in the Supreme Court decision on Negro voting in primaries, the states' rights cause as involved in the soldier-vote bill, the renewed discussion of the anti-poll tax measure.

But their choleric hues become pale in comparison with the Alabama Sun, now four weekly issues old, which issues from an obscure sanctum in Birmingham to be spread by an agency no less obscure all over the state—one estimate says in a volume of 200,000 copies.

Its tone is quickly revealed by description of one of its front-page pictures, showing Mrs. Roosevelt beside the bed of a wounded Negro service man in a South Pacific hospital and captioned: "Burns Gas to Shake Nigger's Hand." There are four pages of the stuff, of which the least said, perhaps the better.

Oddly enough, the editorial content touches upon everything in the current situation but the Simpson-Hill race. Jim Simpson may disavow the broadside, even deplore it. An inquiring visitor from Timbuctoo might wonder what it has to do with him or Lister Hill, or if the candidate in this case is not a person named Eleanor Roosevelt. But it labors an obvious point. It leads to the poll tax fight, the Supreme Court decision, the F.E.P.C., the White House, the Negro press from which it quotes liberally the most aggressive utterances, some apparently quite out of context—and by inevitable association to the Simpson banner with the familiar device: "States' Rights—White Supremacy . . ." 4-14-44

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ACTUALLY, as Lister Hill points out, there exists no issue of white supremacy where he is concerned, and it is going to be hard to fool a lot of Alabama voters by implication. Senator Hill, to the dismay of some followers, has displayed often his feeling for the traditions of his constituents. He has opposed the anti-lynching bill, abetted the poll tax filibuster, espoused hobbling the F.E.P.C., gone along with the states' righters on the service men's vote bill.

But this, it becomes plain, is not only a fight on Lister Hill. It is primarily a fight on Roosevelt and all his works. It is a fight which in the South must be waged within the Democratic Party, out of the necessities of the local political structure, but which in other regions pits Republicans against Democrats. Senator Hill pounds on this point.

"If you elect Simpson," he says, "Alabama will provide one more vote pledged to go along with Herbert Hoover, Isolationist Bricker and Alabama Republican John Posey to destroy a Democratic national administration which alone can keep for Alabama what a Democratic administration has given to Alabama—and one more vote to undermine the Commander-in-Chief."

Mr. Hill may succeed in getting the real issue stated, and force a genuine test, after all. There are other factors in the campaign, of course. There are many other stratagems in the campaign, which become significant of tactics to come in the all-out battle of 1944 elsewhere. These will be described in another report.

Sanity and Decency A Vote of Southern

Courier-Journal-Louisville, Ky.

The vote in Alabama and Florida, by which Senator Lister Hill was renominated and Senator Claude Pepper seems to have won a majority over four opponents, is a demonstration that when the chips are down, the issue clearly drawn, and there is a lucid interval of pause in the great indoor sport of griping, President Roosevelt and his works may continue to count on the people's favor. 5-4-44

And when it is recalled that the opponents of Senators Hill and Pepper threw at them everything in the inflammatory book of ancient Southern prejudice, the vote also is evidence that the people fundamentally are more decent than their political leaders. Today it is plain that they can be counted on to recognize the demagoguery of racial division and all the incendiary exhortations in the name of White Supremacy for what they are—poison as coldly contrived as any lethal tool out of a munitions plant, as ruthlessly designed for destruction.

From the start there was no doubt that the issue in the Alabama and Florida campaigns was the New Deal. It was a clear test, for no other two members of the Senate may be found who day in and day out, with only occasional hesitations on issues of local concern, have followed more definitely and earnestly the administration and its essential program than Mr. Hill and Mr. Pepper. Sponsors of the opposition to them were the natural antagonists of administration and program, and have been revealed so by long and consistent fomentation of revolt. This time, full of confidence that the trend was in their favor, they rushed into the open with all the weapons that have been a-forging for ten years or more in the arsenal of frustration and discontent, and with a few new developments.

They rushed out shouting, in the political vernacular of the day, for free enterprise and against bureaucracy, crying out in alarm against "socialistic" trends in Washington and above all screaming that ideologies spawned in the White House were aimed at violation of venerated Southern folkways, meaning you know what. It was impossible, matching maneuver for maneuver, blast for blast, even syllable for syllable, to escape the conclusion that the campaigns against Mr. Hill and Mr. Pepper actually were one campaign, not only synchronous in time but identical in pattern and common in inspiration. 5-4-44

At that, the two purge campaigns—or one, if you please—were shrewdly contrived. It was to be observed that there was invariably a profession of loyalty for the Commander-in-Chief. Without undertaking to tear down Mr. Roosevelt—the object, they were aware, still of much devotion and the likely party candidate, and savior, next fall—the crusaders for the good old way offered opportunity to vote against discontents, fears, prejudice or any other old thing that might serve to win triumph for the main idea. This didn't work. It seems there is a settled instinct which tells the people that the Commander-in-Chief is a man named Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the two are inseparable, and you can't vaunt one while decrying the other—and that Eleanor Roosevelt, after all, is the first lady of the land, and too much abuse of her is too much.

Nor did degeneration of invective, into which the fanatical spokesmen of the opposition descended after ten years of skirting the edges of the mire, seem to work. Are we to conclude, after Tuesday's events, after the repudiation of TALMADGE in Georgia on the same point two years ago, that the White Supremacy roar is losing its power for moving the electorate? At least we see that it didn't prove, this time, to be sure fire; and we read that Negroes voted here and there in Alabama and Florida—voted sparsely, and casually, it is true, but definitely—and were unchallenged and uncowed. 5-4-44

If there is indeed a race problem in the land, as described from every hustings in the Deep South of late, who is to say that the greatest sinners as to its creation are not the politicians, fanning the flames for their own ends? To judge from the verdict in Alabama and Florida, the people would have none of it—and the people are not kicking out the President's friends, either. And this is 1944.

Toward Freedom

The Reconstruction Goes On; Pepper, Hill Victories Spur It

By Doxey Wilkerson

Daily Worker-New York, N.Y.

LAST week's Democratic primary elections in Florida and Alabama reflect a growing trend which will yet bring freedom to the South. It will come, and the Negro people will play an important role in its achievement.

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, and Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, won decisively. Representative Joe (Dies Committee) Starnes of Alabama, was defeated. **And Negroes voted in the "white primaries" of both states!**

Consternation reigns in the camp of the Bourbon South, and well it might. These are but portends of even greater democratic triumphs which will shatter their already crumbling edifice of white supremacy.

Sen. Pepper does not "belong" to the Old South, but represents an emerging progressive element in Southern politics. Foe of the polltax, champion of New Deal legislation, supporter of President Roosevelt's win-the-war program and Administration spokesman on foreign policy, he is the antithesis of that still-dominant political reaction which has kept the Southern white and Negro masses in semi-feudal oppression since the late 1870's. 5-8-44

The whole arsenal of Bourbon power was unleashed to assure his defeat. His reelection by the democratic pro-Roosevelt masses strikingly heralds the coming of a new day.

Sen. Hill is also strongly pro-Roosevelt; he faced implacable opposition from the Bourbon rulers. Representative Starnes is the embodiment of that sinister wartime merger of Southern reaction and pro-fascist defeatism which seriously imperils the nation; he was strongly supported by the Bourbons. In the victory of one and the defeat of the other, the growing power of the democratic masses is again recorded.

It is grievous, of course, that Pepper and Hill considered it necessary to make appeasement gestures to the vicious anti-Negroism which characterized the campaigns of their opponents. But this error is far less significant than the victory of those broad democratic, pro-Roosevelt forces whose continued growth alone can bring freedom to all the people of the South. 5-8-44

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IN THESE first tests of the Supreme Court decision in the Texas "white primary" case, Negroes flocked to the polls in Florida and Alabama—and voted! This was not everywhere true, but the trend is of major importance. Moreover, with a new militancy born of the war, aroused Negro citizens are organizing and registering all over the South.

Some disillusioned liberals are unduly impressed by the rantings of the white supremacyites. But with all their shouting the reactionaries can neither stop nor conceal the basic changes now under way in the South.

With the "white primary" declared unconstitutional and the polltax on the way out (never fear, it will go), the main "legal" bases of Southern disfranchisement are tottering. The strong democratic currents set into motion by the New Deal have been accelerated by the impact of this people's war. The rapid urbanizations and industrialization of the South strike at the foundations of Bourbon power. The growing organization of Southern workers and the increasing struggles of the Negro people represent emerging political forces to challenge entrenched reaction.

The common impression of a static South is illusory, and the recent Alabama and Florida Democratic primary elections underscore this basic truth. 5-8-44

During one brief decade of Reconstruction, the white and Negro masses, buttressed by a strong and progressive federal government, set out to build a new and promising democracy in the South. The completion of this task is again on the agenda of history. It will carried through by those pro-Roosevelt forces which defeated Starnes and reelected Pepper and Hill.

Alabama Voters Go To Polls Today To Make Great Decision; Interest High

World-Bham. Ala.

5-2-44

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Voters of Alabama go to the polls today to make a great decision, primarily between Lister Hill and James A. Simpson for the U. S. Senate. Senator Hill, symbol of President Roosevelt, is seeking re-election while State Senator Simpson, personification of the Hate Roosevelt reactionary is trying to unseat him.

Simpson has conducted a campaign in which the hatred for the Commander-in-Chief is disguised in the race issue. He has centered his attack on the FEPC, the only committee which bears the president's name. He insists that the work of the committee is an invasion of state's rights and that it is tearing down the work-traditions of the South.

His "race relations" plank does not accord with either the 14th and 15th amendments of the U. S Constitution from which the FEPC gets its strength nor the separate but equal" tradition of the South which the FEPC seeks to get into operation. It is an obvious denial that the Negro is entitled to equality of job opportunity and that his labor should be used to help win the war. The FEPC was created more as a war measure than as a Negro uplift instrument.

The sucker issue of "white supremacy" has been dangled before the public like a red flag before a wild bull. Racial domination, the practical concept of the supremacists, is in itself fascisism. In that light the Simpson campaign is not so much as a reaction against the New Deal as it is a revelation of the rising tide of fascism in Alabama.

Simpson's fool-the-people campaign has found inspiration in three filthy "hate sheets" in which one, printed in Birmingham, in addition to slurring Negroes, smearing the President's wife, has made violent but veiled threats on Negro leaders. These papers preach the Hitler race doctrines and follow his technique of "divide and conqueror," attempt to provoke the people against one another.

Doubtless the people in Birmingham and Alabama would welcome race relations as an issue if it were designed to work out a program of fair, scientific and enlightened race relations in the state. The opposite is true, it seems. The so-called "Negro issue" is being capitalized upon for selfish political purposes, I would suspect, without any real intention of white or black people in mind.

The race issue is not so much a political issue as it is the nation's issue. The question here is whether democracy is going to bow to fascism by sanctioning the practice of discrimination against minorities. It is the question of whether the national idea of democracy is to survive and become nationwide, or is the Simpson idea going to become the national practice. Simpson seems to desire to get to the Senate to spread his racial views.

Negro people have writhed but held their balance during this campaign, made bitter, shameful and disgusting by the dirty tactics used by some of the Simpson campaigners and supporters. Negro citizens deserve a heightened respect in the eyes of the decent white people of Alabama. For they know it is bogus to say that a people seeking to shoulder their full part of the war is seeking social intimacy with them.

Negro voters met Sunday to scan the list of candidates asking for election to office. I know not of their decision but I can present their yardstick for arriving at vote-casting decisions. 5-2-44

It will be a compact, uncontrolled vote, directed as a single bullet against any and all candidates who raised or caused to be raised the race issue in the cmpaign. You will note that no person nor organization has been active during the current campaign. Those who aspired to political leadership were tied-up with condidates who raised the race issue and therefore knew better than to openly espouse their cause. By uncontrolled vote, I mean that no described-as politican can truthfully say that he can deliver the Negro vote to any par-

So heated became the race issue in the now-ending primary campaign that would-be Negro politicans resorted to a strategy of vigilant silence. In the future Alabama will have some strong Negro politicians that will be a vast improvement over those of the past. They will make a contribution. I predict, that will make Alabama proud of its Negro voters. That day will usher in a new day of clean politics for the state.

52a-1944

Arkansas

Southern "Statesmanship"

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

The State Democratic Committee of Arkansas has been hard at work devising new ways and means of barring colored Americans from the July 25 and August 3 primaries, and the decision has been made to challenge them on the ground of "party loyalty."

Previously the Arkansas Democrats have been barring colored voters because they were colored, but sharp lawyers have now discovered this to be a violation of the 15th Amendment and the Supreme Court's most recent decision in the Texas Primary case. 7-22-44

All this petty scheming, this almost juvenile absorption with devices to prevent a large part of the populace from exercising the right to vote, this fanatical concentration on the so-called color problem is the full measure of Southern "statesmanship."

Practically speaking, the South is a colony of the financially and industrially superior North and East, and has been since the defeat at Appomattox.

Like all colonies, it toils and produces in order that a few absentee owners may enjoy all the good things of life, while it suffers from widespread economic illiteracy, economic discrimination, rural and urban slums, general malnutrition and disease, and intellectual stagnation.

Obviously the goal of Southern statesmanship should be to emancipate the South from absentee ownership, end the economic discrimination it suffers, eradicate illiteracy, horrible housing, malnutrition and disease, and build better public health and recreational facilities for the people, regardless of color, who are the real wealth of any country.

Instead, Southern politicians squander their time and limited talents keeping the color question alive—which is exactly the preoccupation the Northern absentee owners want, because it keeps Southern whites' minds off the real issues, as it has since the Civil War. 7-22-44

It is a striking commentary on the mental torpor of the South and the vaunted courage of its favorite sons, that not a single Southern politician of prominence is able to see or willing to state that the first step toward emancipation from Wall Street control is the broadening of the basis of suffrage in order to increase public interest in public improvement, and to demonstrate to the masses of white people that it is not the so-called Negro problem that is keeping them at the bottom of American society.

Removal of all restrictions on voting will end the one-party stagnation and inaugurate healthy rivalry and competition for votes on the basis of real issues.

This, in turn, will force politicians to do more for voters than hold a pre-election barbecue or watermelon feast, and compel them to live up to their promises or risk defeat next time . . . and that means public improvements and protection of all kinds, thus lifting the standard of living of all the people.

The necessity for increased taxation will compel big outside corporations to disgorge some of their profits, and thus serve the people on whom they live; while the freeing of the South from the shackles of the race problem will enliven intra-sectional competition by enlisting the hopes and ambitions of ALL the people. 7-22-44

That would be real Southern statesmanship, but instead, we have this pathetically petty piddling with racial minutae while the fairest section of the country sinks farther into colonialism, destitution and intellectual stagnation.

52a-1944

Campaigns

The Negro People in the Elections

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

THE Chicago Defender, outstanding Negro newspaper which, last week, announced unreserved support of President Roosevelt for a fourth term, voices the real issues of this campaign as they most vitally affect the Negro people. Those issues are jobs and peace.

Let the Negro voter ask himself, says this Negro weekly, these two fundamental questions: (1) Who can better cooperate in writing the kind of peace that will "best preserve American interests without being unfair to any nation, big or small?" (2) Who can better make sure there will be jobs for everybody? 10-1-44

We think the Defender is correct.

The Negro people are determined that the great gains they have made under the Roosevelt administration will be preserved and extended.

Yes, unsolved problems and grievances still exist, but the Negro people will not let the Republicans, by exaggerating these conditions, separate the Negro people from their progressive friends.

The Negro people, as is true of every other American, must see the solution of their problems as tied in with the solution of the general problems facing America.

The basic problems, at the moment, are, first, successful completion of our war against world fascism, and, secondly, durable, lasting peace based upon the decision reached at Teheran. Unless these world problems can be solved to the benefit of all people, then neither can the domestic problem be solved.

Here is where the Negro, with his potential power to sway the elections in some states, comes in.

The very keystone of the President's foreign policy—complete victory over fascism and the building of postwar international cooperation—is under attack by the Republican candidate. Dewey sneers at Roosevelt's attempt at international economic cooperation as a "World WPA" and, at home, the Republicans sabotage the "Economic Bill of Rights" and the Kilgore-Murray-Truman reconversion bill.

Roosevelt is the first President to try to **do** something about jimcrow and discrimination in employment. There is the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The administration would secure this wartime measure for peacetime assurance of the rights of Negroes and other minorities to work wherever qualified, but Congressional Republicans, teamed with reactionary Democrats, are against it. Dewey, in his own state, killed efforts to set up an agency comparable to the FEPC. 10-1-44

Nor has any other administration gone so far as this one actually to abolish jimcrow and discrimination in the Army and the Navy. Not only are Negroes in all branches of the service; the recent War Department order forbidding jimcrow in post exchanges, theatres and on Army buses indicate a policy towards its complete abolition.

It has been under the Roosevelt administration that the Negro's right to vote in the South has been advanced, as witness the Supreme Court's opinion in the Texas "white primary" case. It has been under this administration's influence that the trade union movement, with Negro and white workers integrated, has reached unprecedented growth, North and South.

The Negro people are going to march forward with Roosevelt.

7-17-44

Associated Press

7-17-44

Testing Georgia's "white" primary: A. T. Walden, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is told he cannot vote

A Democratic Dilemma.

Newsweek — Dayton, Ohio

Platform, Vice Presidency Fights Jeopardize Wavering Negro Support

7-17-44

Not much was being said about it. Public statements were few, the headlines fewer. But Democratic leaders knew this week that without rapid repairs Franklin D. Roosevelt for the first time in twelve years might lose a substantial part of the nation's Negro vote next November.

With the Democratic national convention in Chicago only a week away, their problem was a major one: how to put down the revolt of the white-supremacy delegations from the South while matching the all-out platform bid for the Negro vote made by the Republican convention two weeks ago.

So deeply did the issue cut that it appeared likely to precipitate not only a platform fight but a major row over the Vice Presidency as well.

"Stop Wallace": In Columbus, Ohio, last week, Democratic Chairman Robert E. Hannegan dropped a press-conference remark that to all purposes threw open the race for the Vice Presidential nomination. Questioned about the President's desire that Vice President Henry A. Wallace be retained on the ticket, Hannegan said several men were being "considered." His list included: Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, Sen. Harry S. Truman of Missouri, Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, War Mobilization Chief James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt of Indiana, Gov. Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, and Gov. J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina. 7-17-44

Actually, Hannegan only gave recognition to a fact long known within the Democratic party: Almost no Southern leaders and few in the North want Wallace this year. In recent weeks, one leader after another (Hannegan among them) has so advised Mr. Roosevelt. In his role as champion of minority groups, including Negroes, Wallace infuriates Southern Democrats. The Northerners in turn resent his open bids for left-wing support.

If the "Stop Wallace" movement proved effective—and particularly if a Southerner were the new Vice Presidential candidate—the Negro vote might be lost. If Wallace were again the nominee, Southern and Border States already in revolt might be beyond appeasement. (On his return to Washington from China and Soviet Asia, Wallace had a two-hour conference on Monday with the President. They discussed "nothing else" but China. When asked about his own candidacy, Wallace remarked cryptically to newsmen: "I am candid." Then he added: "We can talk about that at some future time.")

7-17-44

Flanking Movement: It was conceded that the Democratic platform makers had a task ahead of them. Already two states, Texas and Mississippi, had given notice that unless the platform protected the Southern position their Presidential electors would be free to bolt when the electoral college meets next December.

Further, the Republicans—tentatively at least—had already outflanked their rivals by plumping flatly for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, repeal of the poll tax through a Constitutional amendment, enactment of anti-lynch legislation, and an investigation of racial discrimination in the armed services.

Last week, the GOP took another step: Clilan Bethany Powell, editor of the potent Negro publication The New York Amsterdam News, was named assistant Republican publicity director, a post he had held with the Democratic national committee in 1936 and 1940. (A picture of Dewey with Powell and two other Negro editors led South Carolina's Gov. Olin D. Johnston to charge on the radio last week that the GOP candidate had attended a "Negro drinking party.")

What the Democrats could do to match these steps without alienating Southern factions was the question. The best guess was that for a starter the platform drafters would avoid a showdown, preferring to stand on a record of Negro gains under the New Deal. 7-17-44

Whatever the outcome in Chicago next week, the stratagems of both parties were certain to play a leading part in the coming campaign. Neither could afford to overlook the so-called balance-of-power vote in such pivotal states as New York (estimated Negro voters: 350,000), Pennsylvania (275,000), Ohio (180,000), Illinois (200,000), and Michigan (125,000).

Warning: On the nation's newsstands last week Harper's Magazine appeared with an article by Earl Brown, a Negro writer on the editorial staff of Life. "The Negro vote, about two million strong," wrote Brown, "is shifting back into the Republican column. The shift began soon after the Presidential election of 1940 and it hasn't stopped yet." Brown's reasons: Army and Navy treatment of Negroes; 1943 race riots; job discrimination; and the South's renewed white-supremacy campaign.* Written before the GOP convention, Brown's article noted that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey was not attack-proof on the Negro question while both the President and Mrs. Roosevelt had won the Negro's gratitude. But he added: "As matters stand now, the Democrats have more worrying to do . . . than the Republicans."

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*In the Georgia primary last week, Negro leaders, hopeful of another court test similar to the recent Supreme Court decision lifting the color ban in Texas primaries, quietly accepted the refusal to allow them to vote although they had registered.

Thousands Hail FDR Tour By Capt. Mulzac

Defender —Chicago, Ill.

10-7-44

DETROIT.—Captain Hugh Mulzac, skipper of the mixed crew on the Liberty Ship Booker T. Washington, last week thrilled thousands with his life story as the first Negro to become master of an American merchant ship in his 10,000-mile swing through the country campaigning for the election of President Roosevelt.

Already audiences in five cities have heard the seafaring veteran of 39 years, who proudly wears the four stripes of a ship's master, discuss the vital issues of the day.

Captain Mulzac is using his vacation, while waiting assignment to a new Victory ship, to tour the country under the auspices of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee. Speaking last week in Akron, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, Mulzac was accompanied by Ferdinand C. Smith, national secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union.

Flays Dewey

An audience of more than 1,000 persons jammed into the Ebenezer AME church, heard the noted commander state, "To place a man like Dewey at the helm of our ship of state would be a major catastrophe. All labor and Negro gains would be lost if we do not help the present administration."

Declaring that only the present administration could insure full post-war employment, Mulzac added: "The men of my ship fear unemployment in the years to come far more than they feared the shells and the bullets. They did not hesitate to risk their lives, they should not be made to risk their livelihood." 10-7-44

A police escort and a delegation headed by C. Pat Quinn, president of the Detroit and Wayne County CIO Council, welcomed Mulzac and Smith on their arrival at Union Station.

Mulzac was introduced at the meeting by Cecil Blackman, first Negro wireless operator on the Booker T. Washington. Blackman and Mulzac served together on the SS Yarmouth, operated by Marcus Garvey's ill-fated Black Star Line, first Negro-owned shipping line in America.

Hits Michigan Governor

Michigan's Governor Kelly was denounced by Capt. Mulzac for issuing extradition warrants to return two Negro youths to Dixie authorities.

They are Bonney Morrow, who has been living quietly in Grand Rapids for five years after escaping a Mississippi lynch mob led by the local sheriff, and Huddie Allen, who eluded a lynch mob in Alabama and secured work in a Detroit war plant. 10-7-44

Comparing these cases with a recent one in which Gov. Dewey turned a Negro fugitive over to Dixie officials, Ferdinand Smith charged, "Governor Dewey exposed the tie-up between Republicans and Rankin Democrats last year when he delivered George Burrows to Mississippi over the protests of Negroes and liberal whites. Section 850 of the Criminal Court procedure provides that governors may refuse to extradite where local prejudice makes a fair trial improbable. Dewey knew the law. He took his stand on the side of Southern reaction."

10-7-44

Lauds Union Aid

Smith outlined the achievements of the National Maritime Union during the past seven years under its no discrimination policy. "We've kept our bridge of ships sailing with mixed Negro and white crews working in complete harmony," he said. "By unity we overthrew prejudice and discrimination and used every ounce of available seaman power to maintain the bridge of ships to the war fronts."

At Pittsburgh on Thursday, Mulzac and Smith had appeared before the Second Slav Congress and also addressed a mass meeting at the A. Leo Weill school.

The two leaders met with Mayor Cornelius D. Scully, who stated that the influence of President and Mrs. Roosevelt was reflected in increased liberalism in the South. "Negroes are now voting in the Arkansas and Texas and Georgia. This is the pattern we wish to spread." 10-7-44

Guests at a NMU luncheon at the Hotel Statler in Cleveland last Monday heard Mulzac call for continued opportunities to advance to responsible berths in the nation's merchant marine after the war. "The gains made by Negroes in the merchant marine were made only under the Democratic party and the present administration," he said. "It is up to us to see that they are kept in office."

On his tour of larger cities, Capt. Mulzac is accompanied by Smith. On last Tuesday, Mulzac was guest speaker at Central High school in Akron, Ohio.

2a-1944

Campaigns

Phila. Polls Shows 83% Of Negroes for Roosevelt

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

10-1-44

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia is the spearhead of Negro sentiment for Roosevelt in the Keystone state and throughout the nation. This was emphasized in the poll of the Evening Bulletin, a conservative, independent Republican paper showing 83 percent of the Negro voters for Roosevelt, 12 percent undecided, and 4 percent for Dewey. Overwhelming Roosevelt support here has been confirmed by community spokesmen.

While some of their estimates were slightly under the 83 percent Bulletin poll, their views were summed up in the statement of Raymond Pace Alexander, noted attorney:

"If the 83 percent Bulletin poll is accurate, then the trend back to FDR is even greater than I thought."

"The President's firm action in sending troops to break the "white supremacy" transit plot here convinced Philadelphia Negroes that they must continue him in office. As Douglas MacMahon, secretary-treasurer of the CIO Transport Workers Union, put it: **"The Negro plank of the Democratic Party is being written right here in Philadelphia by Roosevelt."**

Philadelphians see Negroes operating trolleys. This result of the President's action speaks to Philadelphia Negroes every day, and it speaks louder than any words.

They contrast it with the connivance of the local Republican Administration in the transit conspiracy which Federal Judge Welsh intimated was aimed to influence the presidential election. 10-1-44

The plot boomeranged. It boomeranged against Gov. Martin, who was discussing politics in St. Louis with Gov. Dewey during the transit tieup, and did not do or say a thing.

The Roosevelt enthusiasm was shown in the new registration. There was a notable turnout of Negro men and women. Previous Negro registration here was 128.589 about 13 percent of the total. It is agreed that this proportion has been upped among the approximately 130.000 new registrants.

The action of the President, and of the CIO against discrimination has also had an invigorating effect on white voters. Polls showed that the majority of the city supported the President's action. The average voter knows that the Negro issue was a pretext for the transit tieup. They say "there was politics in it."

10-1-44

The old saying that "seeing is believing" is, however, borne out in Pennsylvania. Throughout the state, where the total Negro registration, including Philadelphia, was 312.000 last year, the esntiment, while strongly pro-Roosevelt, does not reach the 83 percent shown in the city of brotherly love.

The Philadelphia story needs to be widely broadcast throughout the country, and in a nonpartisan way. The majority of Philadelphia Negroes who are so strong for FDR are registered Republicans. They are not "going Democrat." They are going Roosevelt and for Roosevelt supporters in Congress.

10-1-44

BEN DAVIS JR

Sen. Pepper Fights "White Supremacy"

Guardian — Boston, Mass.

4-15-44

TALLAHASSEE. FLA. (C) — **Opponents of liberal Senator Claude A. Pepper have raised the "white supremacy" bugaboo in the senatorial primary for the first time in 16 years. The Senator has been so angered by the inflammatory speeches that he found it necessary to pack up in Washington and hurry home. Said Pepper, "I had to come to Florida to meet the unequaled campaign of bitterness and misrepresentation which out of an enormous slush fund of $150,000 is being hurled at me." His rivals, Atty. Millaid Conklin and Judge J. Alex Edmunds are accusing him of "stirring up racial strife and discord in violation of southern tradition"**

PARTIES DODGE NEGRO ISSUE, WILLKIE SAYS

Post — Birmingham, Ala.

Makers Of Platforms Fail To Appreciate Importance, Critic Charges

9-29-44

NEW YORK, Sept. 29.—(Special)—Both the Democratic and Republican platforms fail to face realistically the Negro problem, which has assumed an "importance not equalled since the period immediately following the Civil War," Wendell Willkie charges in advocating equal rights for 13 million Negro citizens, in a signed article in the current issue of Collier's

"Only those leaders of our two political parties who wrote and influenced the party platforms apparently have failed to grasp" the importance of the issue, Willkie declares. "Both of the 1944 political platforms, in their pledges to the Negro and their programs for him, are tragically inadequate."

He condemns both parties for failing to offer any workable program to outlaw poll taxes and lynching, and to stop discriimnation against Negroes in the armed forces. The Democrats, he charges, merely speak in generalities and offer "lip service to the laws we already have."

GOP Platform Held Better

"The Republicans recognize four outstanding evils in the present situation," Willkie says. " . . . and it must be said that the Republican platform is distinctly better than the Democratic." These evils are listed as the poll tax, lynching, and discrimination against the Negro in both the armed forces and in civil life.

9-29-44

"Of the four evils, however, only the forthright pledge of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission can be said to meet realistically the need for action which the issues demand."

Willkie charges that the Republicans, in pledging a constitutional amendment to abolish poll taxes, ignore the fact that the South's "white supremacy" congressmen would filibuster it to death. And the Republican plank "favoring anti-lynching legislation," he says, "is unrealistic in detail. It even fails to specify whether state or Federal legislation is meant . . . the cruix of the question."

Wants Federal Law

Willkie himself comes out in favor of a Federal anti-poll tax statute, pointing to several constitutional provisions which, in his opinion, "show that an excellent case can be made for the constitutionality of a Federal anti-poll tax law." Opponents of such law have argued that it would be unconstitutional.

"The list of grievances of the Negro people is a long one," Willkie declares, "and the war has made us conscious of the contradictions between our treatment of the Negro minority and the ideals for which we are fighting.

"The equitable treatment of racial minorities in America is basic to our chance for a just and lasting peace. For it cannot be too much emphasized that in the world today whatever we do at home affects our foreign policy, and whatever we do abroad affects our domestic policy. The two necessarily interrelated. . . . We, as Americans, cannot be on one side abroad and the other at home." 9-29-44

Hits Poll Taxes

Willkie condemns poll taxes on the ground that they not only discriminate against Negroes, but also the "poor whites" of the South, robbing them of their votes and making it "easier than elsewhere for individuals to perpetuate themselves in office."

"These individuals," he says, "elected by a small percentage of the eligible voters, wield a disproportionate power over the country's affairs."

In another signed article in Collier's three weeks ago, Willkie criticized the foreign policy planks of both parties and declared that the Democratic plank was the less objectionable of the two.

Randolph Tells Political Leaders He Does "Not Elect To Run For Congress"; Prefers To Remain Free And Without Political Ties In His Efforts Better Conditions For Race

Age — New York, N.Y.

4-22-44

A determined "Draft Randolph for Congress" movement, started several weeks ago by friends and admirers of A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and national head of the March On Washington Movement, was doomed to failure Saturday afternoon, when the nationally known labor leader told political leaders with whom he had held almost daily conferences for a week, that he did not "elect to run for congress."

Veteran politicians of all political faiths who just a month ago had enthusiastically endorsed Randolph's latest movement, a Non-Partisan Political Council for Negro voters, were non-plussed by the refusal of Randolph to become their candidate.

It was no secret to Mr. Randolph that the Republican organization had offered him their designation and that powerful Democratic and American Labor leaders were uniting behind him to push him in the primary elections to make him a truly non-partisan candidate owing allegiance to no one but Negroes themselves.

Proponents of the "Draft Randolph for Congress" movement were prepared to battle it out in the coming primary elections with Rev. Adam C. Powell, jr., who recently received the Tammany machine endorsement over the protests of Herbert L. Bruce, Democratic leader of the 21st A. D., in whose district he resides. They were confident that with Randolph as their candidate they could enter all three primaries, defeat Rev. Powell, and actually elect Randolph in the August primaries without waiting for the November elections.

4-22-44

RANDOLPH'S STATEMENT

In his statement, issued at his office, 217 West 125th street, on Monday morning, Mr. Randolph said:

——:o:——

"I wish to express my profound appreciation for the interest and fine spirit of cooperation that my friends have shown in attempting to get me to stand for election for Congress in the Twenty-Second Congressional District of New York City. After giving this matter my serious thought, I have come to the conclusion that I do not elect to run for Congress. My reasons are as follows:

ELECTIONS

8-7-44

Curtains for Cotton Ed

Time — Chicago, Ill.

Cotton Ed Smith, galumphing off to the Senate chamber, liked to say that he was "going over to the Cave of the Winds." During his 35 years in the Senate, he himself could summon up as hot a sirocco as any that scorched the Ship of State. A fit of temper would get him on his feet, and if he could not get the Speaker's attention, he would hack petulantly away on the arm of his chair with a penknife. The old man (80) has a somewhat high-pitched voice, corkscrewing oddly out of his mastiff jowls; his stature is small and his build square. But his bulldog face, his straight-backed bearing, his scraggly walrus mustache, and his command of epithet have given him a compelling ferocity.

Such oratorical omelets, composed of Southern corn, overblown poetical allusions, rough waggery and incoherent rambling have seldom been presented in the halls of Congress since the days when John Randolph of Roanoke used to stride into the House, whip in hand, followed by a Negro boy with a flagon of porter, to administer a tongue-lashing to Henry Clay.

But Ellison DuRant Smith (his opponents pronounce his middle name in two words) is no Southern aristocrat. He was born during the Civil War, near Lynchburg, S.C., and raised in the Reconstruction, when carpetbaggers, scalawags and Negroes bankrupted the State Legislature. He never tried to overcome his horror at the thought of a Negro voting. He had two ideas: 1) keep Negroes down, 2) the price of cotton up. On this platform Cotton Ed was kept in office as a U.S. Senator for six terms, long enough to become the dean of the Senate. This week he also became the man with the longest continuous Senatorial record in U.S. history.* But Cotton Ed was in no mood to celebrate: he had been beaten for a seventh term in last week's South Carolina primary.

Acme

8-7-44

COTTON ED, ON HIS SOUTH CAROLINA FARM

". . . right in the smack-dab middle . . ."

Jackass Age. Cotton Ed was a conscientious objector to the 20th Century. He walked out of the 1936 Democratic Convention in high dudgeon because a Negro preacher read a prayer. He was a drag-end isolationist. He was a believer in poll taxes; he was never heard to protest a Southern lynching; and he stood prepared to filibuster to the end against an anti-lynching bill. He decorated his speeches by "pings" at a spittoon ten feet away, or if there were no spittoons, he would spit on the Senate carpet.

8-7-44

In his 35 years on the U.S. payroll he kept the list loaded with members of his family. He was imperious: "Tell those butt-heads we will assemble tomorrow morning" was his way of summoning fellow Senators to a meeting of his Agriculture Committee. He once formulated his economic, social and political thinking in one sentence: "Gentlemen, we are right in the smack-dab middle of a jackass age."

Six years ago Franklin Roosevelt tried to "purge" him from the Senate. This classic political mistake got Cotton Ed re-elected just as the people of South Carolina were prepared to throw him out. For Cotton Ed exploited the "carpetbag meddling" for all it was worth. Said he, with gallus-snapping righteousness: "You can buy a rubber stamp for a dollar, but you can't buy a man for any price. God made me a man before South Carolina made me a Senator." After that, Cotton Ed's hatred for the President extended to everything that Franklin Roosevelt did.

A Look at the Pigs. Cotton Ed's opponent in the 1938 purge attempt was Governor Olin D. Johnston, who campaigned on the slogan: "A vote for Olin D. is a vote for the principles of Franklin D." Last week Johnston opposed Cotton Ed again. By now Olin Johnston, though a supporter of Roosevelt's foreign policy, was only lukewarm to the New Deal. This time he snatched the bloody flag of "white supremacy" from Cotton Ed and raced down the field with it.

8-7-44

In joint speaking bees with Cotton Ed up & down the state (as required by South Carolina custom) Governor Johnston boasted of how he had changed the state's laws to keep Negroes from voting. Said he: "Had it not been for my action, tomorrow you would be walking along with Negroes to the ballot box. I am not . . . in favor of social or political equality of the white and black races. I believe in action, and not mere words." Bull-necked Governor Johnston, 47, is a tough, chunky six-footer, a "linthead" (he worked in cotton mills as a boy), and was a front-line sergeant in World War I. Beside him, Cotton Ed seemed aged and tired. In one appearance, Cotton Ed spoke a few minutes, then played a recording of a speech he made six years ago. The audience was shocked: his voice now was a whisper.

Cotton Ed heard the news of his defeat while slumped in a chair at his 2,500-acre farm near Lynchburg. He chomped his jowls for a moment, then rose and said matter-of-factly: "Well, I guess I'd better go out and look at the pigs."

8-7-44

OLIN JOHNSTON

This time he did it.

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* On August 4 he overtook Senator William B. Allison of Iowa, who served 35 years, from 1873 to 1908.

Between the Lines

Gordon Hancock

Call — Kansas City, Mo

CHOOSING BETWEEN POLITICAL EVILS

8-11-44

None but the politically unsophisticated will take seriously the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties. Political platforms at best are only vote-snarers—both the Democrats and Republicans could well have by-passed the race question, so long as neither party is willing to sacrifice political exdiency for interracial justice. Politicians are realists and woe unto those who are not! All political calculations are made in terms of votes and the voteless are doomed from the beginning.

Both the Democrats and Republicans attempted to woo and placate the antti-attempted to woo and placate anti-they fully subscribe to some things the south is doing and the way it is done, but because the votes of the white anti-Negro south possibly outweigh these of the American Negroes. Roosevelt or Dewey may be elected without the Negro vote but neither can be elected without the vote of the white south and especially is this true of Roosevelt. Roosevelt is in very truth between the devil, of anti-Negro south and the deep blue sea of America Negro suffrage.

The matter of platforms therefore can just as well be dismissed for this is not going to be a campaign of platforms but of personalities. Around the Roosevelt personality hinge certain records by which the future may be roughly judged. Around the Dewey personality hinge certain indefinite promises and guesses. If Negroes want to follow the standards of the untried Dewey, the rubber-stamp candidate of the Republican party, they are at full liberty to do so; if they want to stand by the man who is in hot water for trying to stand by them, then they evince a political sagacity that will pay dividends on the curb of political realism.

8-11-44

DISMISS "PLATFORMS"

Negroes then may as well dismiss the so-called "platforms" which mean no more today than they have meant for a hundred years and that is simply nothing! In choosing between the two political parties we choose between two political evils; but in choosing between Roosevelt and the dashing, dapper Dewey the issues become clearer since both are hamstrung by political affiliates which limit the president-elect in his aspirations.

Political realism dictates that candidates get themselves elected, and getting elected is a matter of having the greater number of votes, and having the greater number of votes is a matter of catching the popular fancy and this is too often a matter of sacrificing the fewer votes for the many. When the framers of the Democratic platform incorporated the vague reference to the race issue, they were after votes without which Roosevelt nor any other candidate can be elected. Even if the Negro cannot bet on the horse—the Democratic party—they can with assurance bet on the jockey—Roosevelt. He has ridden before.

HITLERISM—SOUTHERN STYLE

Many years ago I was in Booker T. Washington's private office and on the wall was a card reading thus: "The more I see of some men the better I love my dog."

8-11-44

The more I see of the "white supremacists" of the south the prouder I am that I am a Negro. The avowed Hitlerism of this tribe of southerners is fast bringing reproach on the struggling, respectable and well-intentioned and noble-purposed whites of the south who must hang their heads in abject dismay before the rantings of these white supremacists led in Rankin, Bilbo and Col. Cotton Ed Smith, of my native South Carolina. These desperationists made "do-funnies" of themselves at Chicago, where the van of progress and enlightenment left them stranded, confused and befuddled.

Their day is over! Although they may give great embarrassment to the better class of whites and considerable trouble to the Negroes, their days are numbered.

It is in sheer desperation that they sought a "white supremacy plank" in the Democratic platform. They were rebuffed at every turn of events and left Chicago with the flag of their political ship flying at half-mast. These political jokers are at once the humiliation and embarrassment of the south that is struggling mightily to rise above the tide of a traditionalism and political inadequacy that is sapping the blood of its better future.

8-11-44

The white supremacists missed the bus in Chicago. The political chastisement they received is convincing proof that a better day is dawning. These Negro phobes are so many Hitlerites incubating in the south. Hitlerism—southern style.

Attorney Rainey Of Boston Leaves OPA to Join Dewey

Globe + Independent—Nashville, Tenn.

10-13-44

Director of Colored Democrats Four years Ago Says Roosevelt is Powerless to Halt His Party's Plan to Humiliate Negro Race

New York—With Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fausett whom the Democrats elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature having astounded the party managers by deserting to the Republicans and blasting Robert E. Hannegan as not disposed to treat colored leaders of the New Deal decently, the party's high command was given an additional and a more severe headache this week when Julian D. Rainey, noted Boston lawyer and attorney for the OPA in the New England area resigned his lucrative Federal job and boldly espoused the election of Dewey and Bricker.

10-13-44

Mr. Rainey was the director of the Negro Division of the 1940 Campaign for the election of President Roosevelt. Indignant over the way reactionary members of his party are forcing President Roosevelt to underwrite their settled plan to humiliate the Negro Race and to deny him his Constitutional Rights. Attorney Rainey holds that even if President Roosevelt does have good will for the Negro Race he is helpless with the reactionary members of his party in control of Congress. He blasts the party with which he has served for the past twelve years and calls for the election of Dewey and Bricker.

The text of Mr. Rainey's statement follows:

"I have resigned as attorney for the Office of Price Administration for the reason that I could not remain silent during this campaign while laboring under the responsibility to protest against a most subtle and vicious plan to perpetuate in America a second-class citizenship for my people.

10-13-44

"I believe that the President is friendly disposed toward the Negro. What he would do, if he could, toward extending to the Negro the latter's guarantees under the Constitution, is unimportant. The fact is he can do nothing about it. In this matter he is as helpless as a page boy, for the Southern members of Congress hold at his head a legislative pistol, and order him, not only to keep the Negro in status quo, but to put in effect a long-range plan which has for its purpose complete separateness based on segregation, discrimination and intimidation. They say to the President: 'accept our policy in dealing with the Negro or we will wreck your whole legislative program.'

"Thoroughly have I tested the Democratic Party. I find that its policies with reference to the Negro are shaped by the South. For a while I believed that the South would hide its fangs. I believed that it would at least pretend to play ball with the Negro in return for his support at the polls. But I find that the South would rather lose the Presidency, yes, rather lose the war, than permit the Negro his constitutional rights.

10-13-44

"The South has demanded of the President, and he has become a party to, a policy which has for its purpose the humiliation of the Negro, keeping the Negro ever impressed with the inferiority of his place in America, and the establishment of a complete and everlasting Negro serfdom. This is being accomplished in every phase of government contact with the Negro. The President is not allowed to appoint a Negro to a place in Washington unless it concerns Negroes or Negro personnel. Every setup to which a Negro is appointed has a Negro kitchen in which he is placed. The President is not allowed to place a Negro in contact with white people unless it is in a servile capacity, the exceptions being a couple of places originated by the Republican Party which have become so traditionally colored that no one dares to touch them.

10-13-44

"They gave us a brigadier-general. He is without command and his duties are restricted to the inspection of colored troops. William Hastie was appointed a civilian aide to the Secretary of War with duties restricted to correspondence having to do with Negro troops. T. Arnold Hill was appointed assistant to the administrator of the Office of Price Administration with duties restricted to visiting colored personnel.

"It is naive to call these appointments window-dressing. Seriously they were vicious. They were made to look like progress, and in consequence snare and delude the colored people. Whereas they were elaborate steps in an overall plan of permanent segregation—an overall plan to establish a colored caste system complete in every detail.

10-13-44

"Since the organizations of the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard preclude the utilization of women on a Jim-Crow basis, colored women are brazenly barred from these branches of the service.

"There is not an injustice in my bill of complaint that could not be corrected by an unbridled president and commander-in-chief. I find after living close to three Democratic administrations, that a vote for a Democratic candidate for the Presidency means a vote to establish a Negro serfdom. A vote for Roosevelt is a vote against the progressive welfare of the Negro. It means giving your adversary 'a stick to break your back.' Lincoln said that this country could not exist half-slave and half-free. I say that the Negro cannot exist as an American on a half-citizenship. He has no place in the party of the South. He must again turn to the Republican Party for liberation. In this campaign he must turn to Dewey and Bricker."

Irate Over 'Do Nothing' Party Policy

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y.

Ex-Civilian Aide To War Secretary Sends Note To Hillman

8-26-44

WASHINGTON — Because of the "do nothing" policy of the Roosevelt administration, coupled with the "say nothing" policy of the National Democratic Convention in Chicago offers no promise for the Negro in this Presidential election, Judge William H. Hastie, dean of the law school at Howard University, sent a letter of resignation from the National Political Action Committee of the CIO of which Sidney Hillman is chairman.

(In a telephone conversation wtih Judge Hastie in Washington on Monday, the former Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, who resigned that position in protest against discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces, had this to say:

"I am not ready as yet to release anything for publication."

The letter which contained his alleged resignation from the PAC, was read to him over the telephone. Judge Hastie would not confirm or deny writing it.

8-26-44

Text of the letter which Judge Hastie purportedly wrote to Mr. Hillman:

"I think you will agree with me that in the eyes of the liberal forces of America the performance of the Democratic National Convention was bad. Negroes in particular recognize that the weak little plank in the Democratic platform on racial justice is no good.

8-26-44

Repudiation of Wallace

"Moreover, the repudiation of Vice President Wallace, after he made the only forthright statement for racial justice during the entire convention, stands as a repudiation of Mr. Wallace's stated position.

"The Democratic Party is the majority party in Congress and controls the executive branch of the Federal government. The immediate need for legislation addressed to problems of transition from war to peace is now evident.

"In this connection, Congress has before it pending bills to establish a permanent Fair Employment Committee, to abolish the poll tax, to extend public housing, to give Federal protection to soldiers against wanton violence in civilian communities, for Federal aid to education and for major extensions and improvements of our Social Security system.

Race Injustice Rampant

"The Commander in Chief has taken no steps to eliminate racial injustice in the armed services. The Department of Justice finds it inexpedient to move against persons who have openly violated the Federal criminal law statutes by denying the primary ballots to Negroes in several states.

"Neither the Interstate Commerce Commission nor the Office of Defense Transportation is exercising any control over the intolerable discrimination which Negroes are suffering in interstate travel at this time.

8-26-44

"I mention such specific matters to indicate how much there is that the Administration in power can do and ought to be doing now in contemplation of the war's ending, which will also show where it stands on matters of racial justice and equality, and what issues it will contest despite reactionary forces inside and outside of the Democratic Party.

On "Do Nothting" Policy

"Yet, present indications are that, political strategists contemplate a 'do nothing' policy from now until the election in November, following the 'say nothing' policy of the Convention. The danger that such counsel will prevail seems very real.

"If this apprehension proves to be well founded, and if no constructive legislation and administrative program is undertaken by the National Administration now for the pre-election period, I for one cannot work for the re-election of that administration, and will not be able to remain a member of the National Citizenes Political Committee.

"I know there are other Negro members of the National Citizens Political Committee share my belief that affirmative legislative and administrative action is imperative now. Of course, each individual must decide for himself what position he should take in the unhappy event of legislative and executive non-action."

Dawson Named to Campaign Comm.

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

The Democratic Illinois delegation in the House has unanimously designated Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago as its representative on the Democratic National Congressional Committee.

This committee directs the campaigns of Democratic nominees for House seats throughout the country and decides what candidates shall be given financial support as well.

5-13-44

Mr. Dawson was notified of his selection by Capt. Victor H. Harding, executive secretary of the committee. He is the first colored member of Congress to be placed by his State delegation on a Congressional campaign committee.

Primary Results Are Cause For Encouragement

Journal + Guide—Norfolk, Va.

THE results in two of Tuesday's primaries particularly are cause for sober reflection and, to a degree, a feeling of satisfaction for all men of goodwill. For, in these two primary elections, one in Florida and one in Alabama, the agents of racial hate and disunity were defeated.

5-13-44

Both U. S. Senators Pepper of Florida and Hill of Alabama were victorious in campaigns marked by appeals to prejudice, by activity in its worst form of "white supremacy" advocates, and by false attacks on the New Deal and on President and Mrs. Roosevelt because of their interest in greater opportunity for the Negro.

"Usurpation of so-called "state's rights" was charged against the President because he had created the FEPC in an effort to assure men the right to work for a living, regardless of their religion, race, or national origin.

The results in both states are regarded by administration supporters as indicative of a Democratic victory in the November elections, and as enhancing the likelihood that Mr. Roosevelt will again be chosen as our Chief Executive. A further result regarded as highly probable is that any move to build up an anti-Fourth Term organization in the South has been killed.

While, at this writing, it is possible that Senator Pepper may be forced to enter a runoff primary, his margin of votes over his rivals is sufficiently large to sustain the judgment of those who regard the Florida result as a defeat for the kind of politics which for so long marred the record of the South, just at the time when it appeared that substantial progress was being made toward sanity and liberalism.

It is sincerely to be hoped that what has happened in Florida and Alabama will revive the healthier trend that was especially noticeable until the Supreme Court's decision in the Texas Primary Case launched anew a flood of sectional maneuvering to achieve the denial of civil rights to Negroes.

5-13-44

We hope that the more enlightened people of the South will prevail, for in the words of the Southern Regional Council "to deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law," and that in prevailing they will reduce the current tensions and race-baiting.

Race's Loyalty Cited; Governor Stevenson Scored

Informer — Houston, Texas

9-23-44

E-X-C-L-U-S-I-V-E

By DORIS HOLLIS

DALLAS — The most important political meeting since the Chicago Convention was held in the Fair Park auditorium Tuesday, September 12. (in a tight election the result of this convention would decide who would be the next President of the United States).

Both stubborn fighting pro-Roosevelt Democrats and bristling heckling anti-Roosevelters ignored the anticipated proposal of the dual-elector compromise by anti-New Deal Governor Coke Stevenson, and staged a seven hour fight with the steam rolling pro-Roosevelt faction hedging through odds and winning control.

Stress Barring Negro Vote

Early in the convention procedure which heaved with tension, wrestled with shouting protests, and blossomed with placards, posters, and badges, anti-New Deal Charles E. Simons of Austin, secretary of the Democratic Executive Committee read a resolution which the committee voted to ask the convention to proceed with plans to bar Negroes from voting and participating in the primaries. The resolution discussed at length the case of Smith vs. Allwright, which led to the Supreme Court ruling that Negroes be permitted to participate in the "White Man's Primary." It told in detail how prohibiting Negres from voting, according to the Supreme Court's ruling, violated the fifteenth and fourteenth Amendments.

9-23-44

Barring Is No Simple Task

The Committee's resolution as read further illustrated that to confine the primaries to "white democracy" is not a simple task— it cannot be by simple procedure, the resolution emphasized. The election laws, both primary, statute and general, hedge around the fifteenth amendment — the Supreme Court has prohibited discrimination against Negroes.

Immediately we must press the legislature to repeal the election laws. Many of the general election laws and primary statutes must be repealed. The general election laws have a definite link with the primary statutes and laws; therefore they must be reworded, new language and substance drafted in them to overcome the Supreme Court's ruling that Negroes can vote in the primaries.

With the legislature repealing the statutes and the rewording of the general election laws, the primary, which heretofore has been an instrument of the state and subject to the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, will be thrown into the private organization of the Democratic party.

The Committee instructed that plans be instigated immediately so as to have everything in readiness by 1946.

9-23-44

Caucus Aired Racial Question

State Executive Committee Chairman George Butler of Houston was criticized by Fleetwood Richards of Lockhart for injecting the Negro question into politics this year. Richards shouted "I'm not half as anxious to keep 'niggers' out of the primaries as I am some of the political white trash.'"

C. C. McDonald of Wichita Falls paid high tribute to Negro soldiers and emphasized that when war was declared the general trend of feeling among Negroes was "I'm ready whenever you are." Negroes have shown true colors, he intimated.

McDonald accused anti-Roosevelt Chairman George Butler for naming a line of anti-Roosevelters to the executive committee and stealing control.

Melee In The Loge

"I was the only Negro and the first Negro to attend a state Democratic Convention in the history of Texas. I had been given a place in a loge that overlooks the 4,000 capacity auditorium.

"I noticed that the balcony was filled with regular Democrats displaying numerous posters inscribed: '1A Roosevelt,' with the President's picture; 'Republicans Get Out — We Can Run Our Business;' 'Texas Electors Traitors To Party,' 'Are You Going to Vote the Republican Ticket in November?' 'Roosevelt—Truman.'"

9-23-44

"While the seated anti's carried posters: 'We don't like Roosevelt, W. Lee O'Daniel, Adolf Hitler, Dan Moody, Benito Mussolini.'"

Ridicule Placard

"An unidentified man entered the loge (the loge was reserved for the press) and procedeed to hang a placard beneath the loge in which I was seated. I couldn't see the placard from where I was sitting.

"As he dangled it in the air, some one in the auditorium jerked it down and tore it into bits.

"Later the man returned with the placard and stacked several chairs almost directly behind my back and placed the placard there. "There was shouting and heckling. I got up to see what was on the placard. It read like this: 'Our Leaders,' then pictures followed with President Roosevelt at the top; William Dawson, vice chairman (Dawson is a Negro Congressman) to the left; Hannegan, chairman; Earl Browder, Communist Party; Sidney Hillman, of the P. A. C., CIO, and American Labor party, then a picture of Hague, inscribed— with Kelly and Flynn as big city bosses.

9-23-44

"My first glance at the crafty propaganda impressed me that there was nothing wrong with Dawson's **picture appearing with Roosevelt under the caption of 'our leaders.' So I ignored the pleas of throw it down, and they let it alone.**

"I reasoned that I had no intention of entering the fight neither with the pro's nor anti's; my mission was reporting.

I Tossed It Down

"When I read further and saw Earl Browder, Communist Party; Kelly and the Big City Bosses, I thoroughly recognized the placard as a piece of political, ridiculed handiwork. I immediately took it from its perch and tossed it in the audience where throngs of people had filled the aisles, sat in seats, cheered and jibbed.

9-23-44

"I stood and looked at the crowds that had gathered to see me. I could differentiate between the anti-Roosevelters and the pro-Roosevelt-Democrats. There still was dissension but I could see that the majority was for the toss. I heard a few shouts of 'throw her out.' But shouts of 'We want her to stay' drowned them out. I turned and walked to my seat and sat down while klieg lights and photographers focused upon me.

"I resumed my duty of gathering the news as it flowed from the convention floor.

"A few minutes later reporters came and asked me my name. Then a reporter from Time Magazine came up, asked me my name and a few other questions.

9-23-44

"At intervals both men and women climbed the stairs, beckoned for me to come to the door —many of them explained —'I wanted to compliment you for having the courage to throw that placard down'— another said 'I thought it was awful brave of you'— while another said, 'I was right with you when you threw that scurrilous thing down.' A man came up and said, 'I am really glad you stayed through it all.' Another, 'I'm glad you didn't leave.

"All of them wanted to know my name, even reporters seemed awed that I was a Texan, born in Texas and attended school in Texas. 'Are you from the North?' they all asked.

"In tossing the sign, I felt that I had not catered to either side, I felt that I was exercising my right as a human being, as an American citizen and upholding my pride as a Negro American.

"Whatever happened I didn't care —when Negroes are ridiculed it's my business —I am a Negro!

My Fan Fare At The Convention

"All else was well, the conventioners wherever they saw me accepted me kindly. Once some one climbed the stairs beckoned me to the door and gave me two sandwiches and a bottle of pop, and exclaimed, 'I thought that you might be hungry and I brought you something to eat.' I asked, —'what do I owe you for this?' 'Nothing at all,' the person explained.

"Several times I left my loge and walked up the aisle outside of the auditorium to get a bottle of pop and a sandwich at the lunch counter. I was never refused service. There were occasions when they were slow about serving me. But always some delegate who was standing right beside me would say, 'She wants a bottle of pop, or she is waiting for a sandwich.' I went in the ladies lounge —and there was no protest. Once a woman came to me and said, 'We were just watching to see if they refused to serve you.'

9-23-44

My Pet Fan

"There was still a roar outside of the convention hall, for a number of delegates hadn't received their badges —some didn't. As I was passing in the hall a woman asked a man, 'didn't you get your badge?' 'No,' he shouted disgruntledly. 'Well what did they do with it?' He looked toward me and said, 'they gave it to that nigger girl I guess.'

"Each time I would pass up or down the aisle on my way back to my seat in the loge — I was recognized by one pet fan who always said, 'boo-boo' when I pased.

"When I pulled off my coat to my dress and left it hanging on the chair in the loge and went out to eat, I was on the outside before I realized I left my badge on the coat and getting back in would be difficult.

"When I approached the door to re-enter, the doorman placed his hand to stop me, but a police officer told him —she is with the press, so I came in without a word of explanation on my part.

The Dallies Describe The Toss

The following are excepr'ts from The Times Herald, Dallas and the Houston Chronicle, Houston, respectively describing the incident in which I tossed the placard:"

Times Herald — Doris Hollis, Negress, representing the Dallas Express, sitting alone in a loge, became the focal point of Klieg lights and photographers during the first convention floor fight when anti-Roosevelt leaders walked under her box and displayed large signs labelled "Our National Leaders." The signs bore the pictures of William Dawson, Hennegan, Sidney Hillman, Earl Browder, Kelly— with Hague and Flynn.

9-23-44

Some one had hung one of the signs behind her.

A crowd of angry Roosevelt delegates yelled, "Throw that sign down here before we come up and throw you down." She hesitated for a moment, but saw the angry fists waving, heard howls, boos' and catcalls and complied. This and all the other signs were pounced upon by **the enraged Roosevelt** delegates and torn to shreds while newsreel cameramen ground out yards of films.

The Houston Chronicle: A few minutes later Doris Hollis, Dallas Negro woman reporter, took a seat in the same box from which the placard had been lowered.

The crowd rose to see her. She got a cheer when she tossed another similar placard out of the box and sat down.

The crowd continued in an uproar for several minutes. There were cries of "Throw her out." Others yelled that they wanted her to stay where she was. Through it all she sat calmly in the box.

Convention Again

The pro-Roosevelts gained control shortly before eight o'clock p. m., after a spectacular three-hour and ten minutes roll call. Robert W. Calvert, Hillsboro, was elected temporary chairman and was also named chairman of a committee to select 23 new electors to replacc those named by the anti-Roosevelt forces at the Man Convention in Austin.

"Then the rest of the committee report, including the plan to bar Negroes from voting, was carried while the parliamentary background of the test for strength of the two factions came in when George Butler, chairman of the Executive Committee read the committee report which included seating the Dallas anti-Roosevelt delegation and placing Mark McGee, Fort Worth anti-Roosevelt delegate, as temporary chairman.

"Calvert, floor leader for the pro-Roosevelts, took the microphone and announced that he was making three amendments. The first was to seat the Dallas Roosevelt delegation instead of the anti's from that county.

"When the final announcement of the roll call was made, wild cheers were heard from pro-Roosevelters, and former Governor James V. Alred, Judge Tyson, of Corsicana, and other staunch Roosevelt backers, emerged from the curtain waving the sign of victory.

Chairman George Butler took the beating and a score of motions were carried overwhelmingly by the audience.

The Governor Never Spoke

"Governor Stevenson never got the opportunity to submit his peace plan of two sets of rival electors to appear on the slate. Chairman Butler tried intensely to present Martin Dies to the conventioners. But when he began, 'I want to present the Honorable Martin Dies'— the galleries and auditorium became a symphony of NO! NO! No's and boos. After lingering awhile, Dies smilingly left the platform. The organist played "Happy Days Are Here Again," after wrangling thru 12 hours of convention the Regular Democrats cheered and hugged.'

White Supremacy Fails To Deliver In So. Primaries

Defender — Chicago, Ill.

5-20-44

By VENICE SPRAGGS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—To the consternation of Southern anti-New Dealers, "white supremacy" as a political issue failed to deliver in last week's bitterly fought primaries in Alabama and Florida when two of the South's most liberal Senators, Lister Hill, Democrat of Alabama, and Claude Pepper, Democrat of Florida, were renominated in sections where results of primaries are tantamount to election.

The defeat of Joseph Starnes, extreme reactionary and leading man of the Dies' Committee, and the failure of two more Alabama reactionaries, Carter Manasco and Joseph P. Newsome to win renomination without run-offs, gave rise to considerable alarm by the Southern bloc over the growing power of the labor vote in the industrialized sections of the South.

Some Negroes Vote

Negroes appearing at the polls in

Mobile, Ala., were told that the primary was restricted to white electors. In Montgomery, they were not permitted to vote. In Birmingham, they voted in the primaries as usual, however, only a small percentage of the several hundred qualified were seen at the polls.

In Tallahassee, Fla., results varied. A Negro high school teacher left the polls without voting. Although she was not denied a ballot, she was asked to wait until a ruling on her qualification could be obtained. In another precinct in Tallahassee, Negroes cast their votes. Some were members of the faculty of the Florida A. and M. college. 5-20-44

Legal Action

According to a statement made by Arthur D. Shores, prominent Alabama attorney, legal action is anticipated in both Mobile and Montgomery counties. Under civil statute, penalties of $1000 fine and a year in jail are provided for interference with the constitutional rights of citizens. Any hesitation on the part of the Justice Department in applying the criminal statute is "political, not legal," says Judge William Hastie, chairman of the NAACP's National Legal committee.

The Race Issue In Southern Politics

Journal & Guide—Norfolk, Va.

5-6-44

IN TWO primary elections held on Tuesday in southern states the issue of race unfortunately loomed large. Giving impetus to the dragging in of the race issue was the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the Texas Democratic primary's bar against participation by Negroes.

Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, seeking renomination, ran smack into opposition based on maintenance of "white supremacy" and himself engaged, but less blatantly, in similar tactics.

Senator Pepper in his career as a member of Congress has held himself above the more flagrant sins of race-baiting. In fact, he supported many measures particularly benefiicial to the Negro.

In Alabama a similar situation arose, with Senator Lister Hill seeking renomination against opposition beating the drums for "white supremacy" and denial of civil rights to Negroes.

Throughout the South, with the Texas primary decision and other recent events as excuses, politicians and others have revived the bitterness of past years, just at the time it appeared that subtsantial progress was being made toward saneness and goodwill. 5-6-44

At this writing, the results of the primary elections are not available. It will be interesting to see the results. They will be a barometer of future events and trends.

Meanwhile, it will do the South good to take to heart the advice of the Southern Regional Council, which at its weekend meeting in Atlanta urged "all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust."

The council pointed out that denial of the vote in a southern primary was tantamount to denial of the ballot on account of race, and added: "This (Texas primary) decision has far-reaching consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive . . . To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law."

The First Round For Mr. Powell

World—Memphis, Tenn.

Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, famed pastor of New York's Abyssinian Baptist Church, won the Republican and Democratic primaries last Tuesday in the 22nd Congressional District over his woman opponent, Attorney Sarah Speaks, to become New York's first Negro representative at Washington. 8-8-44

A number of significant factors combined to bring about Rev. Powell's nomination. Of major importance for the nation, we believe, is the fact that he is of the Democratic faith. Many political observers will be inclined to use Mr. Powell's nomination as a guide to party strength in at least, New York City. And for that reason, will lend much encouragement to the national party ticket. In the second instance, by virtue of his leadership in both church and civic life of New York, it would have been most difficult for any other candidate to have won over him, despite the bitter opposition of the New York Amsterdam News. Again, Mr. Powell is militant and aggressive. He has developed an art in speaking the language and expressing the hopes and aspirations of the common people.

"There will never be any real victory nor lasting peace," he declared shortly after his nomination Tuesday, "until the rights of Negro men are recognized on an equal basis along with the rights of all men."

Negroes, of whatever political or economic faith, can never find a more militant, outspoken champion of equality. Mr. Powell is both young and aggressive. He can be depended upon to represent his people.

Rainey Bolts to Republicans

Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

FDR Appointments Called Jim Crow

10-14-44

WOMEN BARRED

Hateful Dixie Ties Hands of President

BOSTON. — Julian D. Rainey for sixteen years director of the colored division of the Democratic National Committee, declared his support for Governors Dewey and Bricker, Tuesday, with the assertion that "a vote for Roosevelt is a vote against the progressive welfare of the colored man."

Mr. Rainey in resigning, Friday, as OPA attorney in the New England area, said:

Had to Speak Out

"I could not remain silent during this campaign while laboring under the responsibility to protest against a most subtle and vicious plan to prepetuate in America a second-class citizenship for my people."

He was formerly assistant corporation counsel for Boston. Accepting Mr. Rainey's support, Herbert Brownell, Jr., an national chairman, termed it further evidence of the growing conviction among colored people that in the Republican party lies their hope for advancement and preservation of constitutional rights."

The text of Mr. Rainey's statement follows: 10-14-44

F.D.'s Hands Tied

"I have resigned as attorney for the Office of Price Administration for the reason that I could not remain silent during this campaign while laborng under the responsibility to protest against a most subtle and vicious plan to perpetuate in America a second-class citizenship for my people.

"I believe that the President is friendly disposed toward colored people. What he would do, if he could, toward extending to them the latter's guarantees under the constitution, is unimportant.

"The fact is he can do nothing about it. In this matter he is as helpless as a page boy, for the Southern members of Congress hold at his head a legislative pistol, and order him, not only to keep the colored man in status quo, but to put in effect a long-range plan which has for its purpose complete separateness based on segregation, discrimination and intimidation. 10-14-44

"They say to the President: 'accept our policy in dealing with colored people or we will wreck your whole legislative program.'

Has Tested Party

"Thoroughly have I tested the Democratic party. I find that its policies with reference to colored people are shaped by the South.

"For a while I believed that the South would hide its fangs. I believed that it would at least pretend to play ball with the colored man in return for his support at the polls. But I find that the South would rather lose the Presidency, yes, rather lose the war, than permit the colored man his constitutional rights. 10-14-44

Dixie Dictates Policy

"The South has demanded of the President, and he has become a party to, a policy which has for its purpose the humiliation of the colored man, keeping him ever impressed with the inferiority of his place in America and the establishment of a complete and everlasting colored serfdom.

"This is being accomplished in every phase of government contact with colored people. The President is not allowed to appoint a colored person to a place in Washington unless it concerns colored people or colored personnel.

"Every setup to which a colored man is appointed has a colored kitchen in which he is placed. The President is not allowed to place a colored man in contact with white people unless it is in a servle capacity, the exceptions being a couple of places originated by the Republican party which have become so traditionally colored that no one dares to touch them.

Colored People Deluded

"They gave us a brigadier-general. He is without command, and his duties are restricted to the inspection of colored troops.

"William Hastie was appointed a civilian aide to the Secretary of War with duties restrcted to correspondence having to do with colored troops. 10-14-44

"T. Arnold Hill was appointed assistant to the administrator of the Office of Price Administration with duties restricted to visiting colored personnel.

"It is naive to call these appointments window-dressing. Seriously they were vicious. They were made to look like progress, and in consequence snare and delude the colored people.

Caste System

"Whereas they were elaborate steps in an overall plan of permanent segregation — an overall plan to establish a colored caste system complete in every detail.

"Since the organizations of the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard preclude the utilization of women on a jim-crow basis, colored women are brazenly barred from these branches of the service. 10-14-44

Change Is Possible

"There is not an injustice in my bill of complaint that could not be corrected by an unbridled President and Commander-in-chief.

"I find after living close to three Democratic administrations that a vote for a Democratic candidate for the Presidency means a vote to establish a colored serfdom.

"A vote for Roosevelt is a vote against the progressive welfare of the colored man. It means giving your adversary 'a stick to break your back.' 10-14-44

"Lincoln said that this country could not exist half-slave and half-free. I say that the colored man cannot exist as an American on a half citizenship. He has no place in the party of the South.

"He must again turn to the Republican party for liberation. In this campaign he must turn to Dewey and Bricker."

52a-1944

Campaign-Elections

GOP SWEET PROMISES DON'T FOOL COLORED VOTERS

Guardian — Boston, Mass.

Says DIRECTOR TAYLOR

10-14-44

DEEDS COUNT: SPURN HONEYED WORDS

RACE GAINS MORE UNDER ROOSEVELT THAN ANY OTHER PRESIDENT SINCE LINCOLN —URGES ELECTION OF ROOSEVELT, TOBIN AND ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

"Just about the lowest, meanest political trick in the bag is being pulled out by the Republican Party this year, using respectable colored leaders to help fool unsuspecting voters into casting their ballots for the party of Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Depression".

This was the flat statement this week of Dr. Silas F. Taylor, Boston's Democratic national committeeman and nationally-famous leader of progressive political elements as he answered recently published newspaper articles in which the GOP and its Dewey-Bricker ticket were lauded by colored men who, he said, "are either so ignorant and forgetful that they are dangerous, or are so politically dishonest that they should be shunned like the plague."

Dr. Taylor took particular exception to a recent article which not only glossed over or denied the manifold benefits the New Deal has brought to the colored people of the nation, but even dared to promise greater things in the name of the Republican Party.

10-14-44

"I dare these so-called colored leaders to come out and truthfully tell the record of their party over the past twenty years", Dr. Taylor said. "The Republican Party talks brightly now of an anti-lynching bill. and of abolishing the poll tax. All right, where is the vote of its chief spokesmen in Congress on these two vital issues? Everything of major importance to Republicans that has been introduced in Congress lately has been fanatically supported by ALL the Republicans in both houses, but I defy them to produce their voting records on ONE MAJOR PIECE OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE NATION! They won't take this dare; they know that if they did the colored voter would learn the sorry truth--that time after time the Republican representatatives and senators have SOLD THE COLORED MAN DOWN THE RIVER LIKE CHAINED SLAVES. This they have done by voting outrightly against measures for the race's welfare, by being absent from the floor when certain bills were presented, by dodging behind parliamentary rules, OR BY STRIKING UP UNHOLY ALLIANCES WITH THE BILBOS, THE COTTON ED SMITHS AND THE REST OF THE SOUTHERN WHITE TRASH BLOC IN CONGRESS. The GOP, and its Charlie McCarthy, Dewey, talk NOW about a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. The cheapest thing in any election race is TALK; the permanent FEPC bill has been before Congress all summer, without ONCE having enough that sweet Republican sentiment behind it to bring it to a vote.

10-14-44

Colored men and women who have completely forgotten the welfare of their people repeat meaningless phrases about the Republicans giving colored citizens jobs. I dare them to hold up their party's record on that one, also. Tom Dewey appointed colored judges. He put a man on the New York Boxing Commission. Bricker made several appointments of colored people in Ohio, (and also introduced separate toilets for them). There are 13,000,0000 colored people in the United States, appointing one or two or one hundred handpicked politicians IS NOT GIVING JOBS OR RECOGNITION TO A RACE OF PEOPLE. If you want to get the REAL facts about the Republicans and their job program for colored, ask the colored brethren to tell you about the commission which studied jim-crowism in industry IN DEWEY'S OWN STATE fir one whole year, and had its report THROWN OUT by Gov. Dewey WITHOUT TAKING A SINGLE, SOLITARY CORRECTIVE ACTION. Let them tell you about the HUNDREDS of colored appointees made in Ohio by Gov. Martin L. Davey and THROWN OUT ON THEIR EARS BY BRICKER almost the moment he took office. (And they have NOT been replaced). "These are facts; ask the denouncers to explain why they support them.

"Colored Democrats can proudly point to a far different picture. At the height of the Harding, Coolidge, Hoover depression, when people were starving in the streets without even bread lines having been created for them, after thousands of ragged, hungry, colored veterans were among those gassed, beaten and driven from Washington by Mr. Hoover's orders, while colored farmers were being thrown off their farms along with Mexican and white farmers--at the height of this black page in America's history, Roosevelt and his New Deal came into power. For unemployed youth there came the CCC camps scattered all over the nation; for boys and girls there was that noblest governmental venture, the National Youth Administration. For farmers the FSA, the Farm Relocation program, HOLC, FHA and other agencies were established. For the jobless millions. LEFT US BY HOOVER AND HIS TWO PREDECESSORS, the ERA and WPA agencies were formed. For the aged, the unemployable, the school ch d [illegible] many others, FEDERAL programs came into being, MOST OF THEM BRINGING JOBS AS WELL AS MERE 'RELIEF'. Compare this with the appointment of two judges; compare it with Bricker's record. And remember one very important fact; except for local im-crow practices, which could not be controlled from Washington, BUT WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN STOPPED BY THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS OF NEW YORK; OHIO AND MASSACHUSETTS; except for these local prejudices; QUALIFIED COLORED MEN AND WOMEN OCCUPIED THE HIGHEST EXECUTIVE POSITIONS IN THESE FEDERAL, NEW DEAL AGENCIES.

Mrs. Mary Bethune; Doxey Wilkerson; Alfred Edgar Smith, R. O'Hara Lanier; these are just a few of the THOUSANDS of persons who were appointed by DEMOCRATS in the NEW DEAL admnistration that the colored stooge-fraternity would have us turn from, now that a war might temporarily blind us to the famine a Republican administration would bring back. It is hard to believe that anyone could forget that at the time the New Deal administration went into office, work conditions had become so bad even in our own state that A COLORED PERSON IN MASS, WAS JUST AS IDLE AS A COLORED PERSON IN MISS.

10-14-44

"Let's face the truth, the men and women who are trying now to turn us away from our proven friends of the past dozen years are basing their efforts either on GROSS IGNORANCE OR DELIBERATE MISLEADERSHIP. The colored electorate, too long fooled by idle promises made every four years, by election-day pats on the back and year-round kicks in the rear, can never again afford the tragic luxury of a Harding, Coolidge, Hoover depression, of starvation and unemployment for the mass of people while the chosen few get exalted, public plums. There is only one way to continue and to improve the way of life we have come to know under the Roosevelt administration; that way is to VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN, TOBIN AND THE ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC TICKET IN THE COMING ELECTION, NOV. 7th.

GOP Injecting Racial Issue, Hannegan Says

Post — Washington, D.C.

9-15-44

New York, Sept. 14 (AP).—Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic national chairman, charged today that Republican campaign speakers were "directly injecting racial preju-dice "directly injecting racial prejudice" in the November election campaign,

Hannegan told a press conference that Republicans were referring repeatedly to Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee which is supportin President Roosevelt, as a "forign-born labor leader."

"This emphasis on one labor leader is a clear injection of racial prejudice," Hannegan said. "I am hopeful that it [illegible] be discontinued in view of Mr. Brownell's (Herbert Brownell, Republican national chairman) statement to keep racial and religious issues out of the campaign.

9-15-44

"I call upon Mr. Brownell to repudiate the statements of Republican orators and this type of propaganda."

"Hannegan made the charge after saying that he was pleased to note that both Brownell and he had issued statements pledging to keep racial and religious issues out of the campaign.

GOP Soldier Vote Heavy

New York, Sept. 14 (AP).—Servicemen are voting Republican twice as heavily as civilians, Senator Owen Brewster (R., Me.) says.

Brewster, at a press conference yesterday, said a check on two communities in the Maine State election last Monday showed an 8-1 and 6-1 ration of Republican ballots cast by servicemen, while civilian votes were 4-1 and 3-1. He said it was possible to tell the soldier ballots because they were printed on lighter paper.

9-15-44

Probers Call Browder

The political activities of Earl Browder, Communist leader, will be examined next week by the House Campaign Expenses Investigating Committee.

Chairman Anderson (D., N. M.), announced yesterday that Browder will be questioned Tuesday about the formation of his "Communist Association" which came into being after the United States Communist Party was dissolved.

The committee received from Gerald L. K. Smith of Detroit, founder of the America First Party, an assurance that "none of our candidates spent any money" in obtaining nominations this year.

Why We Must Elect Roosevelt and Truman

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

By DOXEY A. WILKERSON

I. New Perspectives of Negro Freedom.

[NOTE: This is the first in a series of six articles interpreting the basic issues of the presidential and congressional elections campaign from the point of view of Negro voters.]

9-30-44

ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN ARE THE POLITICAL LEADERS of those new labor and other democratic forces whose emergence during the past twelve years has brought increased security to the masses of Americans and unprecedented democratic gains to the Negro people. That is why they and the policies for which they stand must triumph overwhelmingly in the coming elections. Dewey and Bricker are the political instruments of those old and reactionary forces which now seek to lead the American people back to the "do nothing" policies of Hooverism which brought economic and social disaster to our country as a whole and increased oppression to the Negro people. That is why their bid for national leadership must be decisively rejected on November 7.

9-30-44

PRES. ROOSEVELT

SEN. TRUMAN

The enlightened policies of three Roosevelt administrations and the liberating influences of this great anti-fascist, people's war have so facilitated the Negro's struggle for full dedmocratic rights that we now move across the threshold of history into an entirely new era of freedom. It is now possible for the first time since Reconstruction to look forward realistically to the early destruction of jimcroism in American life. Before proceeding to an analysis of the current major issues in the election campaign (which will be done in succeeding articles), it is important to view the rapid progress we are now making in the light of our historic struggles for full democratic rights. Thus can we gain perspective for understanding the crucial significance of these national elections for the continued progress of the Negro people and the entire nation toward the democratic goals of freedom and security for all men.

9-30-44

During that brief and promising decade following the Civil War which Howard Fast so vividly pictures in his novel, **Freedom Road,** it looked as if the oppression of 200 years of slavery would be wiped out by the new people's governments set up by the then united poor white and Negro masses in the southern states. For the first time in history, real democracy in government, in education and in economic life began to emerge in the South.

Then came the fateful national elections of 1876, when the Republican Party betrayed the Negro people and the new southern democracy which the forces around Lincoln had built. The profit-seeking industrialists who then controlled the Republican Party (even as their most reactionary modern heirs do today) entered into a deal with former slave-owners to withdraw federal troops from the South in return for southern support for the election of Rutherfod B. Hayes as President. Hayes was elected, and the federal troops were withdrawn in 1877. There followed a reign of Ku Klux Klan terror and intimidation through which the Old South was restored to power, the poor whites and Negroes were disfranchised, and the new and hopeful democratic reforms they had achieved were utterly destroyed.

9-30-44

By the turn of the century, the Negro people had been pushed back into a status but little different from that of slavery. Thus they remained until the requirements of World War I brought one and three-fourths million southern Negroes to the new industrial opportunities and freer society of the great cities of the North. But the renewed hope then born was almost entirely crushed by the wave of reaction which followed the war. What little remained was destroyed completely by the economic crash of 1929, brought upon our nation as the inevitable consequence of that orgy of profit-making and unregulated speculation which was sponsored by three Republican administrations from Harding to Hoover.

When Roosevelt was elected to national leadership in 1932, he found a prostrate America threatened with complete chaos, the hardest hit being twelve million Negro people—hopelessly impoverished, faced with a new wave of lynchings in the South, jimcroed almost everywhere in the North, and without even the perspective of any progressive change from their subordinate position in the economic, political and social life of the country.

9-30-44

But now, after twelve years of Roosevelt's vigorous "New Deal" and "Win-the-War" administration, the Negro people are marching forward toward their historic goal of freedom more rapidly than at any time since the Republican betrayal of 1876. We are making unprecedented gains in economic security, in political freedom and influence, in breaking jimcro barriers in many a civilian life, and even in some of the most flagrant ar traditional discriminations armed forces. Moreover, we r fight for our rights alone, b now enjoy the help of powerful among the labor and other progre forces which constitute the strength of the Roosevelt Adminis tion. The dark perspective of 1932 has been completely reversed, and we now struggle with renewed confidence that we shall surely uproot, in the very near future, those remaining jimcro barriers to our full participation in the economic, political and social life of America.

9-30-44

This, in brief, is the historical background which the Negro people must bear in mind as they approach the fall elections. The basic issue we face is simply this: **Shall we go back with Dewey and Bricker to the reactionary policies of Hooverism which brought disaster to our nation and hopeless oppression to the Negro people; or shall we continue to move forward with Roosevelt and Truman in support of those progressive policies which have brought the Negro people and the entire country to the point where economic security and democratic freedom for all men, regardless of race or religion, is now entirely possible of attainment?**

There can be no doubt as to which of these alternatives the Negro people will choose. Let us register now, and urge our friends to register, so that our choice can have real political meaning when the ballots are cast on November 7.

9-30-44

52a-1944 Candidates

Adam C. Powell To Face Grand Opportunity As Harlem's First Negro U. S. Congressman

Amsterdam News — New York, N.Y.

8-12-44 8-12-44

By JULIUS J. ADAMS

Only a miracle can prevent two Negroes from being members of the 79th United States Congress, which comes into being next year. Out in Chicago, Congressman William L. Dawson will fight it out in November with former State Senator William E. King for the seat from the First Illinois District. In New York, the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell washed away all effective opposition last week when he swept the Republican, Democratic and American Labor Party primaries in the 22nd (Harlem) District.

It will be the first time two Negroes have sat in Congress since the last century. Since 1901, when Rep. George Henry White of North Carolina left Congress, the Negroes have been members of Congress. They are Oscar DePriest, Arthur W. Mitchell and Dawson, all elected from the First Illinois District. Between 1868 and 1901 some 20 odd Negroes served in Congress, two as members of the United States Senate.

In Chicago it is certain that Dawson or King will win. In New York, it may happen that an independent will run against Powell, but the chances of such a candidate winning against such a tremendous handicap are not very rosy.

In event Dawson and Powell are the members, both will sit among the Democrats — colleagues of Rankin, of Mississippi; Edward Hebert, Louisiana; Butler B. Hare, South Carolina; Joe Hendricks, of Florida, and Thomas G. Burke, of Virginia.' King is a Republican.

8-12-44

They Call Him Congressman

Shortly after the polls closed in Harlem last Tuesday night, they started calling Powell, Congressman. His grand slam in the three primaries was smooth and certain, climaxing one of the most colorful campaigns in the history of the city.

Sara P. Speaks, Powell's opponent in the GOP and the Democratic primaries put up a brave fight, but the avalanche of votes rushed upon her from all sides in a tidal wave that she was unable to stem.

Wednesday afternoon, the successful candidate held a press conference with reporters in his church office here by telephone from Oak Bluffs, Mass., his Summer home. Asked what party he would caucus with in Congress, Mr. Powell said, "more likely the Democrats."

He said he would continue the active pastorate of Abyssinian Baptist Church and that he had arranged to be in the church office on week-ends while Congress is in session. Regarding the procedure he would follow when the Negro is insulted in Congress by Southerners, he said he would raise a point or order and give the rabble-rouser an old-fashioned lecture. If the individual persists in his tirade, Mr. Powell said, he would introduce a resolution to have the guilty Congressman impeached.

Miss Hattie Freeman, for the past 14 years the minister's secretary, will be his secretary in Congress, he said.

8-12-44

Long-Planned Victory

Mr. Powell conducted a vigorous campaign. He announced his candidacy for Congress more than three years ago, but actually he has eyed Capitol Hill for many years. His father is said to have remarked that he wanted his son to be a "religious statesman" and throughout the years since Powell, Jr.'s youth, the machinery was being perfected to carry him forward in public affairs.

The fact that Mr. Powell had been building up for Congress over so long a period was a major handicap to his opponent, who had to overcome such a great advantage within less than three months. The advantage was too great to offset in such a limited time. Thus, it appears it was a strategic mistake for Mr. Powell's opponent to test his full strength in the primaries. With a longer period to build up, she might have polled a much greater vote. As it turned out fewer than 11,000 persons voted for Powell, and this was a relatively small percentage of the total vote of the district. Powell's church has a membership of 9,000. Obviously, the electorate was not sufficiently shocked by the campaign to come out and vote.

8-12-44

This is significant in view of the fact. Mr. Powell not only had the support of Tammany Hall, and the ALP, but of CIO and CIO Political Action Committee, Transport Workers Union, a large segment of the theatrical profession, Communists and numerous other groups.

Too, Mr. Powell's campaign was tuned directly to the masses, calling for abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces, non-resistrictive covenants, a permanent FEPC, a Federal law prohibiting discrimination in interstate travel, the expansion of working opportunities for Negroes and the end of the poll tax and the white primary.

8-12-44

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

8-12-44

SARA SPEAKS

Born November 29, 1908, at New Haven, Conn., Powell was educated in the public schools of New York, and was graduated from Colgate University in 1930 with special honors in religion and philosophy. While at the university, Powell was elected a member of Phi Upsilon Kappa society, honorary fraternity in philosophy. He received a master of arts degree in religious education at Columbia University in 1938.

8-12-44

How Powell Started

Powell entered the ministry on Good Friday night in 1929 and went abroad the next year, traveling some 16,000 miles through twelve coun-

Rev. Powell took a more active part in the administration of the affairs of Abyssinian Baptist Church, largest Protestant congregation in the world. His father, Adam C. Powell,

tries. He spent four months studying in Europe, North Africa and Asia Minor.

After he beame a minister, the Sr., was its pastor. On October 1, 1930, young Powell was corporation manager of the church; the following April he was made assistant pastor. In 1936 he was named junior pastor, and on October 13, 1937, when he succeeded to the pastorate of the church upon the retirement of his father. Abyssinian had a membership of 9,000, an annual budget of $75,000 and property valued at $500,000. As a churchman, the Rev. Mr. Powell, the younger, made rapid progress, but it cannot be said, in truth, that he has as yet reached any great height in his field, nor has his work had as such any definite impact on the people. 8-12-44

Unproductive Work

Powell's first attempt to win public office was in 1941, when he waged a successful fight for a seat in the New York City Council. His record in the council was unproductive. While he was a colorful figure there, he succeeded in accomplishing nothing noteworthy

Powell's plunge into politics followed a period of activity in civic affairs in which he sought to project himself into the life of the community outside the cloistered walls of the church. His record of achievement in these civic affairs outside his church influence has not been particularly impressive. He has willingly joined in on numerous crusades, many of which have been highly successful. Unfortunately and needlessly, he has seen fit to claim credit for many things he did not do. Being a young man, he should realize his life still is ahead of him.

A Grand Opportunity

When he enters Congress, Adam Clayton Powell will have a grand opportunity to perform invaluable service to his country, his city, his community and his race. It is up to him.

8-12-44

When the votes were counted Tuesday night, August 1, 1944, and showed Powell the winner, the contest was over. He won the election in the manner prescribed by law. He will be the Congressman from the 22nd Congressional District; he will be judged in the future by what he does in the future and if he is successful his weaknesses and failures of the past, in the main, will be forgotten. Certainly, all the people want to see him succeed. But it is up to him.

Stupid To Debate Supporting Party, Publisher Declares

Informer — Houston, Texas

9-30-44

By CARTER WESLEY

HOUSTON—I think the Negroes of Texas should support the Democratic party in this campaign, and will try in the following paragraphs to indicate my reasons.

For 20 years Texas Negroes have been fighting to get into the Democratic primary, on the ground that that was the only way to get an effective vote in Texas. In April the Supreme Court opened the Democratic primray to Negroes. Now to me it seems stupid for Negroes to be debating whether or not to enter the Democratic party, after having spent 20 years of blood, toil and money to get into the primary.

It also seems to me that unless Negroes in Texas vote overwhelmingly, for the Democartic ticket, they will convict themselves of insincerity and dangerous fickleness. To the liberals, who have looked with sympathy upon Negroes' efforts to get in the Democratic primary, and perhaps to the Supreme Court of the United States, it will be hard to reconcile the long, hard fight we have made over 20 years to get to vote Democratic, if we turn around immediately and throw our strength to the Republicans. We will be judged in Texas not as individuals but as a race and as a group, and our political responsibility and judgment as well as our sincerity will be judged by the way the majority of votes go in Texas this year.

9-30-44

Also to vote Republican is to lend aid to the anti-Roosevelt Democrats of Texas and the nation. Everybody knows that the anti-Roosevelt Democrats are not only bitterly opposed to Negroes' voting in the Democratic primary, but have done everything they could to destroy our hard-won victory and are still planning to destroy the victory. But to all intents and purposes, the anti-Roosevelt Democrats and the Republicans are working for the same end: defeat of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket, which must mean the election of Governor Dewey.

Confusing Appeals

It is an unfortunate accompaniment of campaigns, especially Presidential campaigns, that the oratory, the conflicts, the falsehoods and propaganda so confuse the issues in the mind of the average person with emotional appeal, that it is almost impossible for even sane people to hold to the thread of sincerity and common sense. In ordinary times people could listen to the radio or the newspaper and get a fairly accurate understanding of what is going forward, but now with political propaganda flooding the papers and the radio and partisan speakers twisting the issues, it is not surprising that many honest people are confused as to just what are the true issues and what are the important and significant facts upon which to base a decision.

9-30-44

The Record Examined

Let us try to escape from a [illegible] of the current argument and turn back to the history of the last 12 years, keeping an eye cocked to [illegible] the personality of the [illegible] involved as well as their records. Since the Republicans [illegible] to be committed to a campaign attacking the Roosevelt administration during the 12 years it has been in office, let's begin by [illegible] the significant happenings [illegible] those 12 years under the [illegible] administration.

Obviously, there have been many of the alphabet projects which were expediencies, and whose usefulness is open to debate. Certainly, it must be conceded that in the vastly expanded bureaus, commissions, committees and what have you's that mushroomed in Washington there have been conflicts, often strife, and in some instances sheer futility. It hardly needs to be claimed that President Roosevelt has been the greatest administrator the White House has seen, to get acceptance of the fact that under his administration we got substantial benefits.

To offset the above-named weaknesses and any others that may be remembered, we have some gains which are not temporary and which are significant of the statesmanship that winds and twines through the 12 years that the Roosevelt administration has obtained. The National Labor Relations Act gave to the working man for the first time standing before the courts and the public, which has enabled him in the plural to negotiate for increased wages, better living conditions, and permanent security on his job. Under it the labor unions have increased from about 3,000,000 to more than 12,000,000. The non-union worker has seen his week reduced to 40 hours in peace time, with a minimum wage scale and certain other protections. During this campaign there are people criticizing various phases of the administration of this act, but the substantial gain at present is in the home and lives of the total of American citizens throughout the United States, and that is the thing for voters to keep in mind.

Then there is the National Housing Act, and the Slum Clearance projects, which have given to poor people in slums sunlight, pure air and decent surroundings not only for the first time, but when many of them would never in their lifetime have gotten it any other way. Sure, there are criticisms of certain administrations of these acts, but the fact that they were enacted and given to the common people by the Roosevelt administration is the important thing to hold to, because it indicates the sincere interest of the President in the common people.

9-30-44

Then there are the banking laws, which have assured all of the common people of America that never again will their savings be wiped out, because the Government now guarantees as much as any ordinary person will ever save. This is a bit of security that was never had before, and which in the coming years will mean a great deal to our solidity and to our security, our aims and our private lives.

Farming acts have been passed for the benefit of all farmers, and even Negro tenant farmers have in most instances gotten the benefit of the laws, including parities and many of the other advantages for lifting the life of farmers.

Now then there are the social security laws by which the common man is not only assured against unemployment but he is protected in his old age, and for the first time is made to feel as if he is a real citizen in whom the Government and the public generally have an interest. Through them the masses of people have gotten a security and confidence of escape from ruin and humiliation at the end of their working years, that never existed in America before. These are facts that must be kept in mind in weighing what the possibilities are from the respective candidates.

9-30-44

Coming closer to home, there is the Mitchell decision which came from a Supreme Court appointed by President Roosevelt, which has given Negroes security in interstate transportation and is doing a great deal to ameliorate the harshness and hostility that had carried over from the reconstruction laws passed by the anti-Roosevelt Democrats.

Negroes are serving on petit and grand juries throughout the South, because of decisions by the United States Supreme Court that they must be treated as citizens and permitted to serve as citizens in jury matters. It is not the honor of serving on juries that counts, but it is the significance of Negroes being treated as other Americans, which has been won under the Roosevelt administration, that is important.

Negroes who are seeing their teachers get equal pay in many of the large cities of the South know that they will get it in the smaller cities as soon as there is courage to push the matter. This is siginificant also not just because of the increase of money, but because the whole South has another facet turned for its view where Negroes must be treated as equals.

Peonage laws and abuses have also had their setbacks by the Supreme Court, and now Negroes, even in the South, have considerably more rights against police officers who arrest them for felonies than they have had before. Yes, I know this is by the Supreme Court and not by President Roosevelt, but we must keep in mind that President Roosevelt has not only appointed a majority of this court but actually all except two of the members. He wanted this court to give us these liberal advantages and so appointed it for that purpose.

9-30-44

Abuse of Soldiers

One of the biggest questions raised today is discrimination against our men and women in the armed services. No Negro is satisfied with the treatment that his group is getting in the armed service. But we have got to be realistic. In other wars far less has been done by the administration to equalize and give justice to soldiers than has been done under President Roosevelt. Keeping in mind the bitterness of the South, and the fact that many of the high officials in the Army and Navy are Southerners, fairness must make us concede that the President has perhaps done as much as could be accomplished, and shows every intention of doing more as fast as is possible. It is stupid to let somebody pick out a discrimination in the Army and blame the President as if he brought it about, omitting and forgetting all the time the many things that the President has done to attack this very form of discrimination in the branches of service.

9-30-44

Perhaps I might close with a mention of the Fair Employment Practice Act committee, known as the FEPC. This committee has not done all that we would have liked for it to have done, but when you look at the bitter opposition of the Southerners, both in and out of Congress, and then compare the work actually accomplished with the handicaps, one is bound to say that this has been a good gesture on the part of the President. So much do Negroes believe it that universally they are committed to working for a permanent FEPC, then why must they be stupid enough to let a little mind pick out the instances where the FEPC has not yet been able to accomplish its purposes and aims?

9-30-44

Unfortunately, Governor Dewey seems to be building his campaign on pot shots and as yet has indicated no program and no definite aim of the Republican party that affects the common man or the Negro. It seems now as though his aim is to try to say the thing that each group wants, a sort of attempt to be all things to all men. But we would like to know what does the Republican party have commensurate with the things that the Democrats have done, and promise to continue in the future, similar to those mentioned above. Unless the Republican party can offer us substantial increases in freedom and in enjoyment of constitutional rights, it does not seem logical to get all excited and riled over the things that have not been accomplished by the Roosevelt administration, and thus be induced to vote a negative reaction. Let's keep in mind the positive things that have been done, against great odds and, remembering that life consists of successes and failures, trials and errors, vote on the substantial accomplishments rather than on incidental failures

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N.Y. Democrats Endorse Powell for Congress

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

3-31-44

NEW YORK. — The Democratic party has given its nomination for congressman from the Harlem district to the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. The announcement was made Thursday, March 23, by Edward Loughlin, chairman of the New York County Democratic committee and marks the first time the Democrats of New York have nominated a Negro for Congress.

The action was taken at a meeting of all the elected leaders in the Harlem area with Loughlin presiding. The others are: James Pemberton of the 17th; Clarence H. Neil of the 20th; Herbert Bruce of the 21st; Fred Dickens of the 19th; Angelio Simonetti and Raymond Jones of the 22nd.

Loughlin stated that Powell was qualified to represent the best interests of the people of Harlem.

Powell is minister of the Abyssinian Baptist church, the nation's largest Protestant church which through its members has already pledged $10,000 toward his campaign expenses.

He is the chairman of the People's Committee, a broad movement embracing members from every organization in the Harlem area. He is also editor-in-chief, and co-publisher of the People's Voice, New York tabloid. As the first Negro to have been elected to the city council, he chose not to run for re-election in order to prepare for the present race for Congress.

3-31-44

Powell in accepting, made the following statement: "I wish to thank the Harlem leaders of the New York Democratic County Committee for nominating me for Congress. This marks the first time that a Negro has been designated for Congress by the Democratic party in New York City."

"While it is true that I am a registered Democrat; I have always been an independent. I want cal faiths and races that I will to assure my friends of all politicontinue to consistantly maintain that independence. I value that above all else. I, therefore am asking the continued support of members of the Republican party and the American Labor Party in helping me to preserve my independence.

3-31-44

"On the other hand, I will cooperate with the local Democratic party in so far as such cooperation does not lessen that independence. I will assist whenever called upon in my limited way to help make this party truly representative of the best interests of all people."

"I believe that under the new dignified leadership of the Honorable Edward Loughlin and the present elected leaders of Harlem, such a goal can be attained this year.

"I pledge to my people in the Harlem area and to all people everywhere, vigorous all out support in winning the war and the peace, fighting every form of injustice, abolishing every form of discrimination and guaranteeing in the post-war world equality of opportunity for everyone."

52a-1944

West Virginia

Negroes Nominated In West Virginia

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—(ANP)—Unofficial election returns from West Virginia's primaries this week reveal that eight Negroes were victorious.

The veteran Fleming A. Jones was nominated on the Democratic ticket in McDowell County and J. G. Travis on the Republican for house of delegates.

Atty. J. M. Ellis of Fayett county was the third. T. G. Nutter and H. W. Dandridge of Beckley appeared also to have been nominated in close election. At least five persons were elected to the national convention. Thse were W. W. Sanders and J. E. Brown, Republicans; L. T. Thornhill, D. W. Ambrose and E. L. James, Democrats.

Negroes Nominated In West Virginia

Daily World-
Atlanta, Ga.

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—(ANP)—Unofficial election returns from West Virginia's primaries this week reveal that eight Negroes were victorious.

5-21-44

The veteran Fleming A. Jones was nominated on the Democratic ticket in McDowell County and J. G. Travis on the Republican for house of delegates.

28-1944 Candidates

NOW IS THE TIME!

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

An Open Letter to the President:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: 11-18-44

You were not reelected by the South. In fact, you could have won decisively without the votes of a single southern state.

Even though you still face opposition from the reactionary southern Democrats in Congress, you are now in position to act even more vigorously than before to extend and strengthen democracy for ALL Americans. AND ONE OF YOUR MAIN TASKS MUST BE TO RID OUR LAND OF THE ROTTEN PESTILENCE OF JIMCRO.

NOW IS THE TIME:

- **to make FEPC permanent, and to take other steps to keep post-war layoffs from wiping out the Negro's newly-won right to work in many industries;**
- **to outlaw the poll tax, make lynching a federal crime, and enforce the Supreme Court ban on the "white primary";**
- **to extend full military equality to the Negro people, and to make civilian attacks upon servicemen a federal offense;**
- **to enlarge federal aid to education with guarantees of equal participation by southern Negro schools;**
- **to take these and any other steps necessary to establish full citizenship for Negro and all other Americans.**

11-18-44

These democratic goals are no longer the special concern of the Negro people; their attainment is necessary to carry through the crucial tasks which now confront our nation as a whole—complete victory, enduring peace, post-war security and freedom for all men. Moreover, these goals now have the support of that broad and growing coalition of labor, Negro and other progressive forces which made your reelection possible, and which constitute your Administration's main source of strength.

Candidates

This newspaper is proud of its role in promoting your reelection. We were, and still are, convinced that you have both the will and the ability to lead our people in building an America which is, in all truth, "the best place in the world to live." To this end you will have our continued support.

11-18-44

Mr. President, the decisive forces of history are now working for the greater freedom and security of all mankind. Let us act with courage to strengthen those forces by wiping the curse of jimcroism off the face of America. NOW IS THE TIME!

The Editors and Publishers of THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

Other Editors Write

Age—New York, N.Y.

AN INCIDENT IN A SOUTHERN TREND

8-12-44

The defeat of Senator Ellison D. Smith, of South Carolina in a try for renomination in the Democratic renomination of his State, is one of those straws in the wind which indicate the direction of public sentiment in the South as it bears upon men in high political office.

Various reasons have been assigned for the defeat of Mr. Smith, some of which have no relation to his bitterness on the race question. But it is evident to all who are familiar with the South Carolina Senator's record that this question weighed heavily among the factors that brought about his defeat.

Southern states do not, as a rule, retire their veterans in public office unless they become a source of embarrassment to their constituencies. The Senator, who was better known as "Cotton Ed" Smith, had so often made a sorry spectacle of himself, in and out of the Senate chamber, that his own people had become weary of his unbecoming behavior.

8-12-44

In place of Smith, South Carolina voter nominated the governor, Olin Johnson. Nomination in South Carolina is equivalent to election. Mr. Johnson is also a Negrophobe, but in a lesser degree than Senator Smith. It can be said, therefore. that South Carolina moved a step forward, in the only way it could move forward.

The State could not have elected to the United States Senate a man who did not rely upon the race question to carry him there. The small minority of white people who vote in South Carolina have been so thoroughly indoctrinated with the belief that the race question and cotton are the only questions, it would be difficult to interest them in a candidate who subordinated these questions to discussion of more important national and international matters.

Governor Johnson is a former cotton mill worker, who pulled himself up by his own bootstraps, with the aid of campaigns which revolved around the race question. That he is to be preferred to Smith, is due to the lesser degree in which he has exploited the question in high places.

—Norfolk Journal and Guide

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EXIT "COTTON ED" SMITH

The infamous dean of the United States Senate, Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, will be "retired" after January 1945. Governor Olin D. Johnston will succeed South Carolina's bigoted and provincial Senior Senator. Johnston overwhelmingly defeated Smith in the recent primary.

For more than thirty years, Senator Smith has been representing the textile and tobacco interests of his state in the senate. His has been a tenure seldom surpssed in constricted statesmanship and anti-Negroism.

Cotton Ed has been an implacable foe of labor and the Negro. His race hate speeches have been classic examples of the degree of descent that a narrow, aberrated mentality can attain and still remain a member of the upper house. Axis propaganda has revelled in his anti-democratic utterances.

When this nation groped in the dark in the early part of 1933, and the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt was practically the only "white hope" upon which a confused and faltering nation could rely, Ed Smith began to mumble. As time unfolded, he became one of the major hurdles over which all of the New Deal progressive legislation had to vault.

When the famous NRA debates were at a heated and highwater mark, the South Carolina Senator feeling that the new set-up would benefit the Negro by improving his, along with all other wage and working standards, arose to add his anti-statesmanlike venom. Negroes particularly will remember his remarks about **fifty cents a day as being quite enough to pay Negroes.**

That his remarks were malapropos never apparently occurred to the Senator. His love for his nation was considerably less than his hate for Negroes. That he was anti-Christian was dramatically proved when he angrily walked out of the 1940 Democratic convention when a Negro minister prayed.

The BEE within the past few months has reported a rising nucleus of liberalism in South Carolina. This nucleus has inveighed against the disgraceful "white supremacy" utterances of South Carolina's state legislature goaded on by Cotton Ed and his masters. This is hopeful, for it attests that even in South Carolina rays of light are beginning to render sterile the microbtes of race hate tsere.

The Negroes of South Carolina are on the march and they will never let the conscience of that state rest until it has corrected its abuses and denial to loyal men and women of color.

Already the effect of that uprising is being felt. Cotton Ed Smith's defeat while not attributed to Negro votes, is certainly attributable in part to the ignominy that the Senior Senator has brought on that state. It is to be hoped that Cotton Ed's exit is a prelude to the ascendancy of brighter minds to the Senate and fuller democracy for the nation.

Governor Dewey's Mistake

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Great oaks from little acorns grow and catastrophes spring from slight errors. 4-1-44

This is likely to be brought home to Governor Thomas E. Dewey sooner than he thinks.

Famous as a racket-buster and with an excellent record as chief executive of our most populous State, Governor Dewey of New York has long held the lead among Republican aspirants to head the G.O.P. in the 1944 Presidential election.

But Governor Dewey made a little mistake last week that may bring about his downfall, when he by-passed the demand of New York liberals, colored and white, for the enactment of a State Fair Employment Practices Act, and appointed a committee instead to gather more facts on the Negro problem—as if there were not enough available already.

From the angry criticism of the Governor's action which comes from all sides, it would appear that the colored citizens of the Empire State have soured on Mr. Dewey overnight.

This would be serious enough in a key State in a Presidential election year when the balloting is bound to be very close; but it is even worse for Mr. Dewey when it is considered that Negro voters everywhere are dead set against any candidate even slightly suspected of having no interest in their fight for more and better jobs.

They are bound to ask "If he by-passed a State FEPC, will he not by-pass a National FEPC?" 4-1-44

Logic is of course on their side, because we have to judge men on their records and not on their speeches.

We do not pretend to know what Governor Dewey can do now to appease the Negro voters, but if he wants their vote he had better give a better demonstration in New York of his friendliness toward them, or his chances of getting into the White House will be very slim.

And this goes for all the other men with ambitions to lead this Nation, wherever and whoever they may be.

I 2a
Candidates

Mrs. King is a Camp Fire Girls" guardian and adviser. Here she is shown with a group of Camp Fire Girls under her guidance. Seated, left to right, are Alonzorine Person, 3805 South Park way; Juanita Smith, 3805 South Park way; Rochelle Reed, 3805 South Park way; Vera Wilson, 4516 Evans av.; Ernestine Bowie, 5310 Indiana av., and her sister, Albertine Bowie. Standing, from left, are Romance Liddell, 4028 Calumet av.; Jean Young, 3849 South Park av.; Nedra Wilson, 4516 Evans av.; Denise Wesley, 333 W. 94th pl.; Joyce Wallace, 4539 Calumet av., and Patricia Kirk, 5310 Indiana av. Mrs. King is exhibiting a ceremonial robe of the order.

Tribune, 10-1-44
Chicago, Ill.

10-1-44

Early morning promenaders on the beautiful thorofare that runs past the King home are King and Kaiser, his German police dog. A game of ball with the dog is the perfect intermission between a day at his law office, 35 S. Dearborn st., and a night of speeches on the 1st district political circuit.

Non-Partisan Committee Formed For the Reelection of Roosevelt

People's Voice—New York, N.Y.

9-30-44

In a strongly worded statement issued here this week, 35 national Negro leaders announced the formation of the National Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Roosevelt, and called upon Negro voters "to use every resource at our command to guarantee the continued guidance of our nation by those progressive foreign and domestic policies for which the Roosevelt administration is justly renowned," Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, chairman, in announcing the Committee's formation, emphasized its non-partisan character. Quoting the Committee's statement, she declared: "While retaining whatever party affiliations we may have, we believe that partisan consideration should not determine our vote in these crucial elections. We will work and vote for those men and those measures, which, irrespective of party labels, will best advance the welfare of our people. We urge that this same non-partisan approach be followed by all our fellow-citizens."

9-30-44

In addition to Mrs. Bethune, national officers of the Committee include Doxey A. Wilkerson, executive editor of The (N.Y.) People's Voice, vice-chairman; Rosa Gregg, Detroit civic leader, secretary; and William P. Harrison, chairman of the Mid-West People's Assembly, Chicago, treasurer.

Regional Vice-Chairmen include: Mrs. Charlotte Bass, California; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma; Arthur Huff Fauset, Pennsylvania; William Harrison, Massachusetts; Rev. Charles A. Hill, Michigan; Carl Johnson, Missouri; Osceola McKaine, South Carolina; Captain Hugh Mulzac, New York; Carter Wesley, Texas; Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Ohio; and P. B. Young, Sr., Virginia.

9-30-44

Declaring "The time for neutrality has passed; and the time for clear-cut decision and vigorous action is here," the Committee states: "It is our conviction that the best interests of the Negro people and of all America—both in the war and in the peace—can best be advanced by the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President, and by the election of Harry S. Truman as Vice-President."

The basic issues of the elections, all of especial concern to Negro voters, are said to be:

- foreign policy for peace and security;

9-30-44

- post-war employment;
- a permanent FEPC;
- elimination of discrimination in the armed forces;
- universal suffrage;
- "states rights";
- strengthening of organized labor;
- the elimination of "racism" from American politics.

The statement concludes: "These and other issues now before the country illustrate how crucial the fall elections are for the continued progress of the Negro people, and for the peace and security of our entire nation and the world. They also make clear how imperatively necessary is the election of Roosevelt and Truman to national leadership."

9-30-44

In addition to the officers listed, members of the National Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Roosevelt include: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, N. C; Louis Martin, Shelton Tappes, Beulah Whitby, Michigan; Anne

Mason, Ohio; Willard Townsend
Ill.; Julian Steele, Mass.; Lener-
te Roberts, Pa.; and Wilhelmina
Adams, Mrs. Jeanetta Welch
Brown, Mayme Brown, Charles A
Collins, Thelma M. Dale, Benja
min J. Davis, jr., Joseph W. Ford
George Goodman, Beulah Green
Mae C. Hawes, Alphaeus Hunton

Hulan E. Jack, Louise J. McDon-
ald, Henry L. Moon, Rev. Adam
Clayton Powell, jr., Estelle Massey
Riddle, Alma Vessels, M. Moran
Weston, of New York.

9-30-44

Contributions and additional
membership on the Committee are
being solicited in order to carry
through plans for mass distribu-

tion of a pamphlet and a nationwide radio broadcast.

The Committee's offices are listed as 210 W 125th St, New York City, and 418 E 47th st, suite 2, Chicago, Illinois.

Tribune — Chicago, Ill.
10-1-44

All is not politics and law for Atty. William E. King, 4140 South Park way, Republican nominee for congress in the 1st district. As a matter of fact his public life has revolved about his activity in the church and with his family. Shown at the grand piano in their well appointed south side home are Mrs. King, left; Blanche, a niece whom they have reared, and the nominee. Tho political service to his neighbors has drawn heavily on his time. King has served 15 years as deacon of the Olivet Baptist church, one of the largest in the world, and is a member of the Fort Dearborn Elks lodge, Garden City Masonic lodge, and the Appomatox club. He is also on the Wabash Y. M. C. A. board of directors.

[TRIBUNE Photos by Julius Gantter.]

Tribune — Chicago, Ill. 10-1-44

In addition to Mrs. King, the nominee has surrounded himself with other able lieutenants in his drive for a seat in congress. In Mr. King's home study, personal headquarters for the campaign, are shown, left to right, M. C. Atkins, 4153 South Park way, Republican state elector; Dr. Joseph E. King, 4318 South Park way, the nominee's brother and a precinct captain; Benjamin C. Duster, 3239 Prairie av., secretary of the 2d ward G. O. P. organization; Dr. J. B. Martin, 4552 Michigan av., sanitary district trustee candidate, and Mr. King.

Dewey Fails To Take Real Stand For Negro

Journal + Guide — Norfolk, Va.
7-8-44

Sidesteps Queries Propounded By News Correspondents

By Harry McAlpin

CHICAGO, Ill. —(NNPA) Before a press conference of some 400 correspondents on the morning after he had been nominated by the Republicans as their presidential candidate and his acceptance, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey sidestepped questions on the Negro. He was not too effective or impressive in doing so.

To a question as to whether he favored the present system of racial discrimination in the armed forces, he replied "I am not an expert on military necessities. I have not studied it carefully."

7-8-44

Then he was asked whether he favored eliminating segregation from the armed forces. To this he answered "I said I have not studied the situation very carefully. I don't know whether it can be done, but I am in favor of eliminating it wherever possible."

7-8-44

IGNORES RACE

As to whether he favored the pledge for a permanent FEPC as stated in the Republican platform, Dewey said he had not had a chance to read the platform very carefully.

"I only hastily looked at it on the plane," he declared. "But I think it contains my viewpoint."

In his acceptance speech of the night before, he had made no reference directly to Negroes.

Another reporter queried him on his views as to segregation in the armed forces to which the nominee replied:

"It's a very difficult problem which will have to be worked out over a period of time. I am not a military expert."

Pressed further he added:

"I am in favor of eliminating segregation wherever possible."

7-8-44

Dewey was asked his views on the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to which he said he would "observe my oath to enforce the Constitution to the best of my ability in all ways."

Large Negro Paper Comes Out for FDR

Pm — New York, N.Y.

'Defender' Says Record on Race Issues Warrants His Re-election

9-24-44

One of the largest Negro newspapers, the Chicago *Defender*, with a circulation of 150,000, came out this weekend in support of President Roosevelt.

In the front page editorial the *Defender* warns Negro voters that the "choice has become one between men rather than parties," concluding that FDR's "record of 12 years on the Negro issues entitles him to recognition as the best President black Americans ever had since Lincoln."

Negro leaders, elated over news the Senate Education and Labor Committee favorably recommended establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee privately indicated that the Committee's action has partially neutralized Negro resentment against the Southern wing of the Democratic Party.

9-24-44

Follows FEPC Backing

The *Defender's* promise to support the President for a fourth term came two days after a permanent FEPC was reported by the Democratic leadership of the Senate Committee.

The intensified efforts of both parties to win the Negro vote can be explained by the fact that in 12 States having 228 electoral votes, close contests could be settled by the Negro electorate.

Harry McAlpin of the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Assn. reports that a recent study shows that more votes will be influenced by the positive acts of the present Administration than by the promises and assurances of the GOP.

Racial discrimination in the armed forces, however, it is pointed out, may benefit Dewey.

Dewey has the support of the important New York *Amsterdam News*, whose publisher is assistant publicity director of the Republican National Committee, and the Philadelphia *Tribune* and the Nashville *Banner*.

9-24-44

Others on List

The Atlanta *Daily World* has indorsed President Roosevelt. Other Negro publications promising to support the President include: The St. Louis *Argus*, the *Black Dispatch*, Oklahoma City, the Houston *Informer*, the Louisiana *Sentinel*, the Dallas *Express*, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, the *People's Voice*, New York, the Michigan *Chronicle* and the Chicago *Bee*.

On Monday the National Non-Partisan Council will open headquarters in Chicago. The newly-organized Council has a three-fold program to register the Negro, define the campaign issues and get out the vote. It will operate in 17 Northern and Border states. John J. Sengstacke, publisher of the *Defender* is honorary chairman.

52a-1944

Candidates

Wallace Leads a Harlem 'Parade'

Daily Worker—New York N.Y.

By EUGENE GORDON

Harlem turned Vice-President Henry A. Wallace's stroll up Lenox Ave. Wednesday night into an Elect-Roosevelt parade and marched in thousands right into the Golden Gate Ballroom behind him.

10-3-44

Additional thousands, learning that the loudspeakers made hearing outside even better than inside the packed auditorium, remained to cheer under the moonlit sky on the sidewalks.

The Elect-Roosevelt rally at 142nd St. and Lenox Ave. had been under way for more than an hour, with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes being constantly stopped with laughter and hoorays for the fine way he was handling Presidential Aspirant Thomas E. (for Evasive) Dewey, when Wallace marched into the hall. He headed a "parade" that had started at 110 St.

He was flanked by Representative-Elect Adam Clayton Powell, with whom he had been speaking all afternoon and early evening in Brooklyn, and by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, life-long Republican until Dewey's shenannigans disgusted him.

Could this tumultuously happy crowd of Roosevelt rooters possibly be needled into wilder enthusiasm? Not unless something happened to make them jump upon their seats, wave their arms and yell.

That's what they did when Wallace entered toward the end of Ickes' speech. 10-3-44

The crowd had laughed at Ralph Cooper's smart quips as master of ceremonies, especially his announcing Dewey's after-election theme song, **I'll Walk Alone.** It had applauded the entertainers and shouted approval of Ickes' quoting Councilman Davis' panning Dewey for sending George Burrows back to Mississippi "justice."

QUICK RESPONSES

Harlem has always known how to express its feeling to a speaker: "Yes! Yes!" or "That's right, brother! You tell 'em!" or "Amen!" or "Preach it!" or, even, "Hear! Hear!" Wednesday night, more than any other time in my recollection, they expressed themselves with boos and hisses. And what boos and hisses! For Dewey. For Dies. For Rankin. For Hitler. For fascism. For the Daily News. 10-3-44

10-3-44

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace (below), addressing more than 6,000 Harlemites in and about the Golden Gate Ballroom Wednesday night, paused frequently to enjoy the crowd's contagious enthusiasm. He marched into the auditorium at the head of a "parade" of notables and thousands of men, women and youngsters right off the streets, starting at 110th St. and proceding up Lenox Ave. to the ralling place at 142nd St.

—Daily Worker Photo.

The Elect-Roosevelt rally expressed itself in the sophisticated idiom of a politically mature people. It was a people's rally by people who knew what they wanted and how to get it.

The crowd clapped its hands when Wallace said Dr. George Washington Carver first taught him botany. It yelled agreement when he said Dewey would remain in Albany a year or so longer. It interrupted him with handclapping and shouts when he praised Sidney Hillman.

One got the satisfying feeling that this was an **American** crowd. An alert, alive and spirited crowd! A crowd burning with religious zeal to achieve a very material end.

Wallace said he had walked the whole distance from 110th St. with Adam Powell, looking over the crowds that would reelect Roosevelt.

The audience for a moment was hushed, startled at the simple fact that the Vice President of the United States had strolled down one of Harlem's main thoroughfares with one of Harlem's favorite sons. Then it erupted into an ovation of such shouting whistling and stamping as has honored only a selected few.

10-3-44

It was not only the Vice President whom they honored. The people of Harlem feel, as they have said, that Wallace, speaking for the common man, speaks for a President who best expreses the aspirations of the common man.

G. O. P. BATTLES POWER OF CIO IN 2 DISTRICTS

Tribune—Chicago,

10-1-44

Intensify Drive for Congress Seats.

BY WILLIAM SHINNICK.

Two close, hard political fights are being waged now on Chicago's south side, with the congressional seats in the 1st and 2d districts as prizes. In both the outcome is uncertain and still greater efforts are being planned by Democrats and Republicans.

The uncertainty centers about the strength the CIO political action committee will be able to muster in favor of the incumbent Democratic congressmen, William L. Dawson of the 1st and William A. Rowan of the 2d, who were elected by narrow margins in 1942. It is the power of this organization, headed by Sidney Hillman, that is depended on by the Democrats to overcome a perceptible swing of Chicago and Cook county toward the Republican column.

10-1-44

Expect Smear Campaign.

The G. O. P. nominees, William E. King in the 1st and Thomas J. Downs in the 2d, are experienced in politics. Both are aware that the Hillman outfit is laying the groundwork quietly for an all-out drive, including a heavy smear campaign, in the final weeks of the contests. They are confident that a proper presentation of the issues, principally the errors and philosophy of the New Deal, will result in a G. O. P. victory.

King has asserted that the big question with his constituents [the voting strength in the 1st, which takes in the loop and runs south to 43d street, belongs to Negroes] is the cold and forbidding attitude of the Roosevelt regime to pleas for racial equality. This attitude, he said, is most marked in the army.

Hits Army Policy.

"Virtually all our young men have been denied the opportunity to go to the fronts as fighting men," he said. "This was unfair and unjustified in the beginning and never has been changed, except for the worse.

10-1-44

"Now the army has adopted a policy on discharging drafted men. To be released first are those who have dependents, have served overseas, and have had combat experience. Where does the Negro soldier, made to do stevedore work, fit into that formula? I doubt if 5 per cent of our draftees are eligible for early discharge under it. The fault is with the army and the man who is so fond of calling himself commander in chief."

Ran Close Race in 1942.

King is a member of the state industrial commission and an attorney. He lost to Dawson in 1942 by 2,743 votes. Dawson is the only Negro in congress and like King is an advocate of nondiscrimination and the economic betterment of his race. In 1938 Dawson ran for congress as a Republican.

In the 2d district Downs is receiving the support of a number of business and civic organizations which, he reported, were not with him when he was defeated in 1942 by Rowan, a former alderman and a stanch adherent of the Kelly organization. The margin then was only 3,517 votes out of more than 216,000 cast.

Seek Larger Vote This Year.

The regular Republican organization and the Business Men's committee are busy in the district, striving to register all potential voters and to persuade 84,000 voters who didn't go to the polls two years ago that they should vote this time. Downs said that a few votes to a precinct would have given him victory in 1942.

He is stressing the fact that the south side's bad water supply is due to the local Democratic machine's inability to get priorities on materials for the south side filtration plant.

10-1-44

Wants Water Purification.

"The hold-up of these materials is a federal matter," he asserted, "and that makes it a job for the congressman to see the restrictions are raised. I will exert every effort in my power to get pure drinking water for our citizens of the 2d district. They know what kind they are geeting now—and it isn't good."

Downs is pledged to nondiscrimination, to find jobs and speed the pensions of service men, to help the aged and to plead and work for the interests of small business men.

Chooses Candidates

Courier-Journal—Louisville, Ky. 10-[illegible]-44

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

Never before in the history of Kentucky has the Negro been given an opportunity to play such an important role in the history of our nation as in the forthcoming Presidential election. With 138,000 voters we hold a balance of power which can largely determine who shall represent us in Congress. Louisville is one of the twelve cities and Kentucky is one of the five key states that can decide who shall be our next President.

It is a grave responsibility. With this in mind, as neither a Democrat nor a Republican, I place Roosevelt above Dewey because I am an American first and a Negro second. I believe he is best suited for the Presidency because of his familiarity with the war, his foreign policy and his ideas for a postwar peace. I further place Roosevelt above Dewey because of his complete and honest desire to make America a true democracy in spite of the reactionary elements of the old South. 10-26-44

I place Park above Barkley because of Barkley's inconsistencies. I believe him to be a true Bourbon Democrat of the old South. After being assured by the Senate that a vote for cloture on the poll tax bill would fail, he voted for cloture because he is running for re-election. Chandler showed his true colors; he voted against cloture.

I place Hubbard above O'Neal as I can find nothing outstanding in O'Neal's record toward the Negro. I resent the fact that a soldier in the armed forces cannot campaign. I further believe that we need a soldier in Congress to see that neither Roosevelt nor anyone else will deprive our returning brothers, husbands and fathers of the rights for which they have so nobly fought.

Louisville. J. Earle Mason.

10-26-44

As Senate leader, Mr. Barkley led the fight for cloture. He could have evaded the issue. Does the writer think he should have voted against cloture?—(Editor

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The Ferdinand Smith Farce

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the National Maritime union, is now touring the country telling Negro audiences why they must vote for a fourth term for President Roosevelt.

10-14-44

Singularly enough, while Mr. Smith is telling other Negroes how they should vote, it seems that he is unable to vote himself.

The New York World-Telegram, a daily newspaper, has charged on numerous occasions that aside from being a Communist who strictly follows the party line dictated by Moscow, he is not even a citizen of the United States, although he has enjoyed its hospitality for a quarter century.

Neither Mr. Smith nor his union colleagues have deigned to reply to these serious charges, but Joseph Curran, president of the NMU, has appointed a committee of five (at least three of whom are known Communists) to "investigate" them.

It is difficult to see what there is to investigate in a question of this kind since a person either is or he is not a citizen, and to end all dispute, a naturalized citizen has only to show his naturalization papers to settle the dispute.

Not having shown such papers, we have a right to assume that Mr. Smith is an alien, and as such has no right to vote or to advise others how to vote.

Thus there is something farcical about this Smith Nationwide tour in behalf of President Roosevelt's re-election.

10-14-44

The Democratic party and its adherents should be able to find plenty of American citizens, native or naturalized, to speak in behalf of its standard bearer without using a spokesman who thinks so little of America that he remained here 25 years and neglected to take out even his first papers.

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3 of 9 Mississippi Electors Say They'll Vote for Byrd

Courier Journal — Louisville, Ky.

10-29-44

Deadline for Changing Ticket Has Passed; Roosevelt's Racial Attitude Criticised

Jackson, Miss., Oct. 28.—Three of Mississippi's nine Democratic electors announced in a statement today that they would cast their votes for Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in the Electoral College.

Signing the joint statement addressed to "the voters of Mississippi," were W. G. McLain, McComb; Clarence E. Morgan, Kosciusko, and F. E. Everett, Indianola.

The staatement said that the electors had agreed to support President Roosevelt and Senator Harry F. Truman, "providing nothing transpired to make their election inimical to the best interests of the South."

10-29-44

Racial Views Decried.

The statement added:

"Since that time many things have transpired proving beyond doubt that the election of Roosevelt and Truman would be inimical to the best interests of the South. Their appeal to the Negro vote in the North, promising to do away with race segregation in the South, their open acceptance of support from Communists and from Sidney Hillman of the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O., and other derelictions convince us that these two men no longer represent the Democratic Party as we have known it, or as Mississippians have known it for more than fifty years."

10-29-44

With only ten days remaining before the election the trio's action leaves Mississippi with no course available to secure an all pro-Roosevelt ticket.

The deadline for filing elector lists was September 7.

HIS PATH HARD, BUT BILL KING MAKES GRADE

Tribune — Chicago, Ill

10-1-44

Politics and Church Keep Him Busy.

William E. King, Republican nominee for congress in the 1st district, is a lawyer by profession but to his neighbors on the south side he's known chiefly as a politician and churchman.

His reputation as a politician stems from years of experience as 2d ward committeeman and as his district's representative in the state house of representatives and senate. He is known as a churchman because of his long association with the Olivet Baptist church, 31st st. and South Park av.

One of a Louisiana family of 11, King has made the grade the hard way and has never forgotten those less fortunate in the struggle for a better life. "We were lucky to get two months of schooling a year in the south," he said, "so I came to Chicago in 1913."

10-7-44

Aided State's Attorney.

He first became interested in politics in 1915 when he entered John Marshall Law school. In 1916 he became a precinct captain in the 2d ward and in 1932 was elected ward committeeman. While his political road has not always been smooth he has withstood all attempts to unseat him from the post.

After being admitted to the bar he served the city as assistant corporation counsel and as assistant state's attorney. He was sent to the state house for four terms and served four years in the state senate. He is now a member of the Illinois industrial commission. In his race for congressman two years ago he carried his ward but was defeated by a narrow margin in the district.

Teacher at Olivet 15 Years.

Some politicians may adopt the church as a means of raising vote totals but with King the church came first. He taught a Sunday school class at Olivet, one of the largest congregations in the world, boasting a membership of 14,000, for 15 years, and has been a deacon for a similar period. After attending to his law business, church duties, and political responsibilities, King has little time for hobbies, even finding it difficult to get in a daily play session with his 8 year old German police dog, Kaiser.

Mrs. King likewise has little spare time. She has maintained her affiliation with the Pilgrim Baptist church, is president of the Finer Arts guild, founder of the National Junior League, Inc., district guardian and chairman of the Camp Fire Girls, and a member of Zeta Phi Beta sorority, Talma Eastern Star chapter, and the Y. M. C. A.'s women's committee. 10-1-44

Niece Reared by Kings.

Missing from the King home at 4140 South Park way are children of their own. However, they have reared a niece, Blanche King, who is now teaching in Felsenthal school, just a block away.

Intimate campaign headquarters for King is the study in the spotless south side home. There prominent south side Republicans gather to map plans which will take them into every precinct of the crowded ward.

High on the nominee's list of staff officers are M. C. Atkins, 4153 South Park av., a Republican elector; Benjamin C. Duster, 3239 Prairie av., secretary of the ward organization; Dr. J. B. Martin, 4552 Michigan av., candidate for sanitary district trustee, and the candidate's brother, Dr. Joseph E. King, 4318 South Park av.

Six Brothers, Sisters Help.

Dr. King, a physician on the Provident hospital staff, three other brothers and two sisters, of the original family of 11 children, are all stanch south side supporters of the well built, polished congressional nominee.

Not the least of King's backers is his wife, Blanche. She plays the piano for him at his massmeetings, does some of his stenographic work, helps him see the women's viewpoint on controversial subjects, and, best of all, keeps his home what it is, a typical middle class American domicile. 10-1-44

Wife an Active Worker.

"I am terribly anxious to see him win this fall," she said. "It would be small reward for the sacrifices he has made in keeping a course set by his true beliefs." Hers is the task of seeing that he keeps all appointments and meets all obligations.

"I guess my first responsibility is just being around when he wants me," she confided.

King is campaigning for the only house seat held by a Negro.

52a-1944

Candidate

I WRITE AS I SEE

Tribune — Philadelphia, Pa

BY ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET

DEWEY WILL NOT DO

Now that Wendell Willkie has withdrawn from the Republican race, the clamor for Thomas Dewey in many quarters has reached the proportions of a massive chorus. Many of these folk take his nomination for granted. However, such people overlook one salient fact: **Thos. E. Dewey is a false friend of the Negro People. This is practically the same as saying he is an enemy of the Negro people. Certainly no Negro leader who does not want to be branded as a modern Uncle Tom can speak for him, and the Negro masses most assuredly will repudiate him.**

4-15-44

FAUSET

Yes, it is true that Dewey appointed Judge Rivers, Eunice Carter and sundry other Negro big-wigs who hold office in New York by virtue of his nod. But one or two swallows do not make a summer; neither do a few messes of pottage beguile the Negro people any longer into wearing bandannas on their heads or screaming "Yassir, boss!"

4-15-44

BECKONS TO SOUTHERNERS

Dewey showed his colors crystal clear recently when he refused to let two bills pass thru the hopper of the New York legislature which would have made New York State a symbol of liberty and a beacon to every other state as far as race relations are concerned. He killed those bills as dead as a dead duck, and no amount of double talk either by Dewey, or by his lieutenants, wherever they may be, can explain away the dismal facts.

Dewey has decided that he does not want New York State to be a beacon of justice and freedom for the Negro, because this would not make good talk in Texas, Virginia, Florida and South Carolina, where he hopes to gain delegates at the Republican Convention, and where he dreams even of duplicating Hoover's feat of 1928, thereby seizing some of the southern states from Roosevelt, and actually wresting the victory from the President.

4-15-44

Dewey will be all things to all people. At the present time he pretends to see no evil, hear none, and mum's the word. Nevertheless, all signs point to the fact that so far as the South is concerned, he will be the answer to a Negro - hater's dream.

4-15-44

That invariably is the way with such folk. By this time all Negroes should know that a political leader cannot turn one cheek to Bilbo and Rankin and the other cheek to the Negroes of Harlem and South Philadelphia.

NEGRO LEADERS MUST PROTEST

Dewey must be defeated at all costs, and that defeat should be prepared now by Negro Republican leaders in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois. IF The Declaration of These Leaders Issued Recently in Chicago Has Any REAL Meaning, Then Let Them Speak Out NOW And Proclaim That If DEWEY Runs In November, The NEGROES In These Pivotal States WILL VOTE ALL OUT FOR HIS OPPONENT And Insure HIS DEFEAT No Matter How Many Southern States Turn In For Him.

4-16-44

Negro Republican leaders who remain silent at this time are playing the role of Quisling. If later they dare to espouse the cause of this enemy of the Negro people, simply because he is the candidate of their party, they will betray the interests of the masses of the Negro people, and deny their words that men and principles come before party.

Men and principles do come before party today. It is a life and death struggle. To those leaders in the Republican ranks who offer an assenting nod to Dewey notwithstanding, there remains for the Negro masses only one countering response: It is to award to them the crown once worn and evermore reserved for the Uncle Toms of the race.

NEGRO BAPTIST POLL SHOWS BIG LEAD FOR DEWEY

Tribune — Chicago, Ill.

9-10-44

A vast majority of the 4 million Negro Baptists affiliated with the National Baptist Convention, Inc., will vote for Gov. Dewey for President because of his insistence upon justice to all Americans, Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro council, said in Chicago last night on his return from the convention's 62d annual conference in Dallas, Tex.

Brown disclosed both northern and southern delegates at the conference voted their preference for Gov. Dewey over President Roosevelt in a poll conducted by the council. The preferential contest among representatives of 23 northern states gave Dewey, 1,648; Roosevelt 722. Representatives of 11 southern states gave Dewey 584 votes, Roosevelt, 276.

9-10-44

Dr. D. V. Jemison of Alabama, who succeeded the late Dr. L. K. Williams of Chicago as president of the convention, told the Dallas conference that Negroes should support the Republican nominee because of Dewey's fight for racial fairness and the "forthright pledges" of the G.O.P. platform.

Georgian Runs For Congress

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

4-8-44

ATLANTA, Ga.—(ANP)—For the first time since the Reconstruction era, a Negro is seeking to be elected to Congress from the Fifth Congressional district of Georgia. The candidate is John H. Calhoun, Jr., widely known businessman, church, civic and fraternal leader, who announced that he would seek the Republican nomination for the seat now occupied by Rep. Robert M. Ramspeck.

"In the interest of developing the two-party system in Georgia, I propose to seek the Republican nomination for Congressman," Calhoun said in his formal announcement.

Jews Assured Racial Issue Will Be Spared

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

9-17-44

Race and religions will not enter into the 1944 national political campaign, the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican national committees have assured the National Conference of Christian Jews.

This pledge of a thoroughly democratic campaign was made by Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic national chairman, and Herbert Brownell Jr., Republican national chairman. Their statements have been released here by the three co-chairmen of the Atlanta Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Rev. M. Ashby Jones, Walter H. Rich and Hughes Spalding.

"The election itself, and the campaign that precedes it, must be a consistently democratic performance," Hannegan stated. "It must be kept free of the very taint that we are engaging in war to remove from the world . . . Racial and religious differences can be given no expression among us."

Brownell declared that "within or outside our nation any disqualification because of race or religion is abhorrent to our (the Republican party's) fundamental beliefs. Our political system can justify itself only if we are ever alert against any doctrine or practice which seeks to exploit differences of race or religion," he pointed out.

52

A SLIPPERY APPEAL TO NEGRO VOTERS.

Tribune — Chicago, Ill.

10-31-44

Vice President Pro Tem. Wallace, addressing an audience of Chicago Negro citizens, attempted some additions to the fourth term platform. He made promises which the Democratic national convention deliberately chose to leave out of the platform when confronted with the hostility of the rabid poll tax delegations from the southern states.

In order to appease the south the convention also sacrificed Wallace as a candidate to succeed himself. The nomination went to Harry Truman, who recently indorsed a former Ku Kluxer running for congressman as a Democrat.

In his speech to the Negroes Wallace was found calling for the abolition of the poll tax, for equal educational opportunities, and for equal wages for equal work regardless of race. None of these things was in the Democratic platform adopted at the national convention, tho all of them had been urged on the delegates. Mr. Wallace's boss and the party are in no way committed to these reforms. All the platform did was to voice a few vague recommendations that congress exert its powers to see that the constitutional rights of racial and religious minorities be respected.

The Republican platform, on the other hand, did not indulge in any ambiguities in its pledges to Negroes. Its plank came out flatly for abolishing the poll tax, by a constitutional amendment if necessary. It further pledged an immediate investigation to ascertain in what degree discrimination against Negroes in military service is impairing morale and delaying the winning of the war.

10-31-44

Mr. Wallace twisted the truth even more flagrantly when he tried to blame Gov. Dewey because some newspapers in the Democratic solid south did not carry the Republican nominee's Seattle pledge, "We shall establish the fair employment practice committee as a permanent function authorized by law." What did he expect Gov. Dewey to do—fly down south, set the type on that pledge, and shove it into the forms of every Democratic paper there?

Mr. Wallace knew very well that Gov. Dewey had said, not once, but twice, that he would write the FEPC into permanent law.

Mr. Wallace in his disingenuous campaigning here is pretending to champion on behalf of his party the very things for which his party convention repudiated him. He made a speech at the convention in which he expressed his notions of what the party ought to promise the Negroes. It cost him his place on the ticket. Now, as a man who will have no official standing within the party after next January, he is trying to create the impression among Negroes that his personal promises are going to carry weight even tho the party disowns them. The Negro voters will know how to evaluate this chicanery.

Harlem Minister Assists GOP Aide

Tribune — Philadelphia, Pa.

10-14-44

NEW YORK— Republican National Committee Chairman Herbert Brownell, Jr., announced this week the appointment of Dr. George H. Sims, pastor of the Union Baptist Church of Harlem, as assistant director of Special Activities of the Republican National Committee. Dr. Sims is recognized as the dean of colored Baptists in the nation, not only in length of service, but in constructive civic and church work. He is the head of the NeNw York State Baptist Ministers' Association.

Dr. Sims, when interviewed at his busy parish institution in the heart of Harlem said: "The future welfare not only of my people, but of the mass of Americans, depends upon our putting now, a courageous and capable executive in the White House. The next president must be above all a president of all the people, not bound by sectional, bloc or corrupt political machine ties. 10-14-44

"The present administration in Washington cannot serve the masses of our people because the South is in the saddle, since southern Senators and Congressmen head all of the all-powerful committees in the House of Representatives and in the United States Senate. The present astute politician in the White House must do the bidding, not only of these reactionary statesmen, but as well that of the professional labor bosses of Tammany of New York, of Hague of New Jersey; of Kelly of Chicago; and of the Pendergast machine of Missouri.

"Dewey will free the country from this three-headed incubus. He will usher in an era of peace, at home as well as abroad; and prosperity for all."

PROTECTION AGAINST RETALIATION

Tribune— Brooklyn's Bridge

9-18-44

52

We must commend Supreme Court Justice Algernon I. Nova, for refusing to take interest in the motion made by John J. Walsh, democratic candidate for assembly, 17th Assembly District Brooklyn, to have 2,200 petition signatures of Louis J. Warner, Negro Republican candidate for the assembly 17th assembly district Brooklyn, declared invalid. Justices Nova's action shows that he has some interest in the Negro citizens, although it may only be interest enough to hold the Negro votes, that helped to elect him. But what we really need on the Supreme Court bench is a Negro, and we believe that Judge Paige of The Court Of Special Sessions is the man for the job. Seven Supreme Court Judges terms expire on December 31st, 1945, and two more expire on December 31st, 1946, we would like to see Judge Paige elected to the Supreme Court bench either in 1945 or 1946, and it can be done if we really want to do it, anyway that is our, AIM. Far to many Supreme Court Judges, are anti-Negro, or will rush through some cases after reserving decision, with a descision not in full accordance with the facts submitted, especially so when the litigants are Negroes. It is up to us to defeat any anti-Negro Judge at the polls. Keep up the good work Judge Nova, thinking of the Negro in any manner, and then showing that you are thinking of him, certainly is protection against retaliation.

9-12-44

Claim Dewey's appointment of Negroes leads all politicians

Tribune— Los Angeles, Calif.

10-9-44

NEW YORK—Governor Dewey's list of appointments of colored New Yorkers to official positions exceeds both in quality and quantity all those of his predecessors, the Republican National Committee asserted this week. "The campaign arguments used by his opponents, that his appointments while Governor, have been made purely for national campaign purposes, falls flat when his record in that respect as district attorney for New York County is studied", the Committee, in a newspaper release, declared.

10-9-44

As District Attorney, he appointed Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, a Smith College graduate, as Assistant District Attorney at a salary of $6,000 per year. Mrs. Carter was believed to be the first and only Negro deputy D. A. in the country. Francis E. Rivers, a Yale Phi Beta Kappa man, now Justice Rivers, was named by Dewey as a senior District Attorney at a salary of $10,000 per year. He too, was the first of his people to hold such a position in New York, and the first of his group named to prosecute murder cases. James Yergman was named Assistant District Attorney at a salary of $4,000 per year.

10-9-44

"The record of Franklin D. Roosevelt as New York governor pales into insignificance by comparison," the Republicans charge.

As Governor, Dewey appointed Rivers to the City Court of the City of New York, the first of his race, at a salary of $17,000 a year. Justice Rivers was subsequently elected to a 10-year term. This is the highest paid office to which a colored American has ever been appointed.

10-9-44

Dr. Clilan B. Powell, now a member of the GOP campaign committee, was the first Negro to be named a member of the New York State Athletic Commission. He receives no salary, but gets $25 for each meeting of the Commission he attends. Mrs. Bertha J. Diggs, was named as Secretary of the Department of Labor with more than 2,500 employees subordinate to her. Noah C. A. Walter, was named by Governor Dewey as a member of the Industrial Board at a salary of $8,500 per year.

Four Negro Assistant Attorney Generals owe their jobs to Dewey in the persons of Conrad A. Johnson, Stanley M. Douglas, Philip Watson and Lamar Perkins.

10-9-44

Richard L. Baltimore, Sr., was named by the Governor as a Compensation Claims Referee at a salary of $5,000 per year. Mr. Baltimore, like Assistant Attorney General Philip Watson, who is attached to the Election Frauds Bureau, had no predecessor among Negroes. Mrs. Mathew V. Boutte and Dr. Henry O. Harding have been appointed, respectively, to the Board of the New York State Training School for Boys at Warwick, and to the Board of Visitors of the New York State Hospital for the Treatment of Incipient Pulmonary Tuberculosis at Ray Brook, New York.

SCORE PREJUDICE APPEALS

Times— New York, N.Y.

20 Clergymen Ask Party Leaders to Repudiate Their Use

11-3-44

Twenty Protestant clergymen made public yesterday through The Churchman, a religious publication, an appeal for the repudiation by leaders of both major parties of resort to racial and religious prejudices for political purposes.

The clergymen recalled that the chairmen of both parties had promised to condemn the use of religious and racial animosities in seeking votes. 11-3-44

"In spite of this," their statement said, "reprehensive appeals to racial and religious prejudice continue to be made. Some of them are of a most invidious sort. We urge the immediate discontinuance of such practices and their repudiation by the leaders of both parties."

GIs Defend Oklahoma Governor Who Saved Negro From Death

Daily Worker— New York, N.Y.

10-3-44

Thirty-four soldiers stationed at Sheppard Field, Texas, have protested a bigoted attack by an organization called the White Citizens of Murray County, Oklahoma, against Gov. Robert S. Kerr for saving a Negro from the electric chair.

The soldiers' protest was sent to the Texas **Wichita Daily Times.** They denounced the white supremacist slanders on Kerr, the New Deal, the Negro people and Communists and described the handbill "as subversive to those American ideals and principles for which our men are dying.

10-3-44

"Some of us listed as Republicans, some Democrats; we are of different religious beliefs," noted the soldiers. "Some of us are from the North. Some have been born and raised in the South, and some are native Texans. But all of us are Americans, and, as Americans, resent the attempt to subversive groups to undermine our democratic way of life."

Gov. Kerr of Oklahoma who made the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago was also assailed by the group of "white citizens" for having opposed the anti-FDR Texas delegates at the convention. 10-3-44

Any attempt to divide the people along racial lines declared the soldiers, "is essentially an undemocratic way of life."

JULIAN RAINEY BACKS DEWEY

Courier— Pittsburgh, Pa.

10-14-44

NEW YORK—Julian D. Rainey of Boston, former director of the Colored division of the Democratic National committee, declared his support for Governor Dewey of New York, and Governor Bricker, of Ohio, this week, asserting that "A vote for Roosevelt is a vote against progressive welfare of the Negro."

Mr. Rainey, prominent in Boston legal circles, resigned last Friday as attorney for the Office of Price Administration in the New England area.

He presented his resignation, he said, because "I could not remain silent during this campaign while laboring under the responsibility to protest against the almost subtle and vicious plan to perpetuate in America a second-class citizenship for my people." 10-14-44

Mr. Rainey was formerly assistant corporation counsel for Boston and has served as special attorney for Massachusetts in the Department of Justice.

He headed the colored division of the Democratic National committee in the last four presidential campaigns. 10-14-44

BROWNELL PAYS HIGH TRIBUTE

Accepting Mr. Rainey's support of Governors Dewey and Bricker, Herbert Brownell, Jr., Republican national chairman, paid tribute to the high regard of Negroes for Mr. Rainey and added:

"In his voluntary action in declaring support of the Republican party lies their hope for the advancement and preservation of the Negro's constitutional rights."

Mr. Rainey in his statement said: "Thoroughly have I tested the Democratic party. I find that its policies with reference to the Negro are shaped by the South. For a while I believed that the South would hide its fangs. I believed that it would at least pretend to play ball with the Negro in return for his support at the polls. But I find that the South would rather lose the presidency. Yes, rather lose the war, than permit the Negro his Constitutional rights."

RAINEY SCORES DISCRIMINATION 10-14-44

Mr. Rainey scored the discrimination he said that is practiced against Negroes in military service and in Government under the present national administration.

"Lincoln said this country could not exist half slave and half free," declared Mr. Rainey. "I say the Negro cannot exist as an American on a half citizenship. He has no place in the party of the South. He must again turn to the Republican party for liberation. In this campaign he must turn to Dewey and Bricker."

Robeson Endorses Victory Show

The Worker— New York

Paul Robeson, noted Negro actor-singer, this week headed a list of distinguished Americans who endorsed the FDR Victory Bandwagon which will perform in Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Ave tomorrow night (Monday). 10-29-44

This is the sensational show which Dewey supporters sought unsuccessfully to stop in Boston where it performed before nearly 3,000 persons. What particularly incensed the Dewey crowd were reports from those who had seen previews of the show that the GOP candidate came in for a terrific drubbing at the hands of the satirist, Bernie Hern, one of the stars of the show.

An outstanding feature at the Manhattan Center event will be the appearance of the fighting Congressman, Vito Marcantonio, and Rev. A. Clayton Powell, who, as a result of his primary victories, is assured of election to Congress Nov. 7

10-29-44

Outstanding stars who will participate in the FDR Victory Bandwagon include Mary Lou Williams, known as the Queen of Boogie-Woogie; Helen Tamiris and Daniel Negrin, concert dancers; Will Geer, star of Tobacco Road; Woody Guthrie and Cisco Houston, balladists; Laura Duncan; Orelia and Pedro, Latin American dancers; Rollin Smith, Negro baritone; Jack de Merchant, Betty Royce, concert pianist, and Bernie Hern.

In his endorsement of the show Paul Robeson said: 10-29-44

"The FDR Victory Bandwagon is a glorious cultural event of historic significance. It not only deepens the progressive content of the people's entertainment by explaining the great political and social issues of the day through the arts of acting, singing, dancing and instrumental music, but also strengthens national unity by presenting an interracial troupe of artists. It is a victory cavalcade of talented fighters for freedom and democracy against racial and religious discrimination, against fascism in all its ugly forms.

52a-1944

Candidates

S. C. Republicans Nominate Negroes

Amsterdam News 9-19-44
New York, N. Y.

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP)—The Tolbert-Leevy faction of Republicans, functioning in spite of the fact that they were not recognized as the official party by the Republican National convention last June, is still functioning. The group which is headed by Joe Tolbert, white, former national committeeman and I. S. Leevy, undertaker, names as candidates for the legislature from Richland County, I. S. Leevy, Dr. J. W. Brunson, Rev. L. C. Jenkins, J. B. Lewis, Rev. J. H. Rodman, 9. J. ohnson and Dr. R. W. Mance.

It would appear probable that in the chaotic state of South Carolina's political situation with the election laws practically 8-19-44 all repealed, any group which desired can nominate a set of candidates. What effect this will have upon the efforts of the Progressive Democratic party (Negro) to put a whole ticket in the field. is not known.

Dewey Carries Race Reporters On Tour Special

Daily World—Atlanta Ga.

Julius Adams, Matthews Keep Up With Candidate

9-19-44

PHILADELPHIA — (A N P) — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's cross-country campaign tour which is expected to cover 6,700 miles, started off with another "first," so far as the Negro press is concerned.

Aboard the train carrying New York's chief executive were Julius J. Adams, associate editor of the Amsterdam News; and Ralph Matthews, editor of the Washington Afro-American.

In the last presidential campaign, Mr. Matthews was the only Negro newspaper man to travel with the Wendell Willkie entourage. Until then, the Negro press had been ignored when invitations were sent out by the national committees of the major political parties.

The expense involved for each correspondent is estimated at $1,000.

Following Gov. Dewey's first major speech here last Thursday night Mr. Adams said: 9-19-44

"I don't regard the trip so much as any achievement of mine or for the Negro press. but rather what it means in the way of providing the reading public with first-hand information about the man who is asking the nation's voters to send him to the White house.

People's Bandwagon Rings Bell

By David Platt

Daily Worker — New York, N. Y.

The People's Bandwagon took the pants off the Pawling popcorn fanatic before 3,500 cheering FDR rooters who packed Manhattan Center on Monday night to see this top-notch Negro and white revue.

11-1-44

This is the show that has been barnstorming through 24 states to help reelect President Roosevelt. Dewey supporters tried to stop it in Boston. They couldn't take this gigantic horse-laugh at Dewey's expense. But the plain people liked the way The Bandwagon used satire, songs and dances to knock the straw out of the stuffed shirt that wants to be President. The revue won the support of both CIO and AFL unions throughout the country. Sen. Claude Pepper, of Florida was the featured speaker when The Bandwagon played in Hartford. At Bridgeport, Margaret Conners, Clare Luce's opponent for Congress was a speaker.

11-1-44

MARY LOU WILLIAMS

The Bandwagon presented 20 numbers at Manhattan Center With some tightening up, the show, if it wanted to, could last several months on Broadway. Ed Royce produced it with Lou Kleinman as director. The cast represents a cross-section of the 90 percent of the entertainment world that wants Roosevelt for a fourth term. The acts range from political satire that had the huge crowd in stitches, to acrobatic derriere wriggling that has to be seen to be believed. All to help get out the vote.

11-1-44

EXCELLENT SATIRE

The political sketches were extremely effective. In one excruciatingly funny skit, that rising young comedian Bernie Hern, Will Geer, Billy Korff and others are racking their brains trying to figure out how to tie Dick Tracy in with the News' redbaiting campaign. It winds up with Tracy getting the worst of a furious political battle with the pro-Roosevelt forces. At the end the News Editor vows to vote for Dewey as long as he lives.

Another savage satire on radio soap operas with Bernie Hern and Billy Korff (this kid is good too,) tells the story of tender, fun-loving Mary Schmoo. Also Just Plain Bull brought to you by Filthy Flakes. Bernie does a terrific take-off on a pro-Dewey double-talking big-shot farmer who is against "communist doctrines and free love" because "in my state you pay." Best of all is Hern's uproarious Tom Dewey imitation. Bernie is Lord Fauntleroy Dewey, the boy who can't say no. Ham is his favorite Fish. He fights for Time and Life. Pegler writes his speeches and jokes. In another sketch, Bernie Hern and Billy Korff bring the buck and wing up to date with a witty song and dance against the hate-Stalin Patterson boys.

SWEET MUSIC 11-1-44

Mary Lou Williams almost tore down the house with her magnificent boogie-woogie. This unique artist filled the hall with some of the sweetest music ever heard in this city. Mary Lou Williams assisted by the inimitable Bill Coleman, trumpeter and that veritable dynamo, Jack (the Bear) Parker at the drums is an unbeatable trio. Helen Tamiris interpreted three Negro spirituals. The choreography did not measure up to the music. Satire is Helen Tamiris' particular forte. We would suggest a different set of dances for this performer.

Laura Duncan and Jack de Merchant rendered What Is America To Me (The House I Live In), the Earl Robinson-Lewis Allan ballad that has caught on everywhere. Rollin Smith, Negro baritone sang Old Man River and another song from 'Showboat.' Daniel Negrin made a hit with his splendid GI Juke Box dance. Richard Dyer-Bennet, the minstrel played The Fox is on the Town and the stirring Concord of Teheran, which brought cheers and cries for more.

Woodie Guthrie did a not too good ballad called All You Fascists are Bound to Lose. Woodie's guitar bears the label: Kills fascists. Jane Dudley stopped the show with two brilliant dances. The first, Harmonica Breakdown, was to the music of Blind Sonny Terry, one of America's finest performers on the Harmonica. Sonny Terry's playing of Lonesome Train was a high spot of the revue. Will Geer, one of the hardest workers in the show, did a swell job emceeing it. 11-1-44

The finale Let's Go Out and Ring Doorbells with the entire cast singing the popular get-out-the-vote tune, sent the audience out of the theatre satisfied that they had seen a lively, lusty, witty and tuneful people's election show that said important things in a novel and entertaining way. Hats off to the Bandwagon! May it be with us long after Roosevelt is elected. It fills a great need now. It will fill a greater need after Election Day.

Negro Candidate For U. S. Senate Is Optimistic

News Courier—Charleston S.C.

8-31-44

Columbia, Aug. 30.—(U.P.): Osceola E. McKaine, 51-year-old Sumter negro, selected by the Progressive (negro) Democratic party today as its United States senatorial nominee in the November general election said tonight, "I have a fighting chance to win" over Governor Olin D. Johnston, nominee of the regular Democratic party, and James B. Gaston, of Greenville, Republican candidate.

The Southern Democratic party has announced its support of Johnston in the election, but it will oppose the Roosevelt - Truman ticket, by submitting to the voters a group of electors pledged to vote against the president and Truman.

Insurgent Republicans headed by Joseph W. (Tieless Joe) Tolbert, of Ninety-Six, have announced they would have a slate of candidates in the general election, but none have been announced so far.

McKaine Is Editor 8-31-44

McKaine, associate editor of the negro weekly newspaper published here, The Lighthouse and Informer, was educated in schools at Boston, Mass., and in Belgium. He has been a champion of equal pay for negro and white school teachers and carried on a campaign for negro voting privileges in the white Democratic party primaries.

McKaine was selected to make the race by the Progressive party's executive committee after postponing action two weeks ago when the group announced that it would support white party nominees who were "acceptable". 8-31-44

S. C. Negros Have Chance

John McCray, state chairman of the Progressives, said tonight that the general election would provide South Carolina negroes with their first test of voting strength. Most of the larger cities in the state have negroes registered for the election and a fe have registered in the rural areas.

McKaine said he would campaign throughout the state.

Harlem Cold to GOP's 'Red Scare,' KKK Smear

Daily Worker—New York, N.Y.

11-1-44

By EUGENE GORDON

By the time I had climbed to the sidewalk from the IRT subway at 125th and Lexington, I had decided to frame the question like this:

"Will the Journal American, Daily News, Mirror, and World-Telegram anti-Roosevelt campaign—which says that a vote for Roosevelt is a vote for Communism—influence your one way or

another when you go to the polls next Tuesday? These papers—and the Amsterdam News—say also that the President's running mate, Truman, is a Ku Kluxer. How will that influence your vote?"

"I am a seaman and I'm 43 years old," said the first man I asked. It was on 125th St. near Park Ave. He was looking suspiciously at me. "I've been through the Hoover depression. And I—now, get this straight—I don't give a damn what anybody says about Roosevelt, I'm going to vote for him. You got that?"

"Yes, I've got it. Would you give your name and address?"

"Sure, I'll give it. William Edward, 1175 Fulton Ave., Bronx. Dewey tried to keep the seamen from voting, too—say, you from the Amsterdam News?" 11-1-44

He relaxed and smiled when he found I was not. His parting admonition was to print his words just as he had given them.

RED BOGEY

William Johnson, 112 W. 132 St., paused long enough in his haste east on 125th to say he didn't believe a vote for Roosevelt was a vote for Communism, "no matter what the papers say." **They "can't frighten me away from Roosevelt."**

A tall, well-dressed young man, Thomas H. Broadway, 2157 Seventh Ave.—was "for Roosevelt all the way and all the time," and newspaper attacks on the President or on Truman won't change his mind.

Mr. and Mrs. William Freeman, visitors from Stamford, Conn., declared jointly for Roosevelt, "no matter what any of the papers say about him or Harry Truman."

A longshoreman, called me back after refusing a quote. 11-1-44

"I just been thinking," he said. "Here, take my name. It's Henry Williams and I live at 37 W. 126th St. Write in your paper that regardless of what anybody says about Roosevelt they'll not change my mind. I'm for Truman, too."

Ray Waters, Williams' friend, 160 W. 128th St., added:

"As far as I'm concerned, I'm voting the straight ticket for Roosevelt. It doesn't matter to me what these papers say."

Only three of 19 questioned had not registered. One had been ill. The second was away from home. The third said: "I just don't believe it'll do any good. What th' hell!"

PROPAGANDA

William Baugh, a cripple, resting in a doorway on Lenox Ave., said no amount of newspaper propaganda could poison him against Roosevelt. 11-1-44

A man, teetering in a chair on a Lenox Ave. curbstone, said he had been a Republican all his life and expected to die a Republican. Three fellows came by while he talked, greeted him casually, and dropped a few pennies in his palm.

But Cullen Bryant, a cook, 116 W. 131st St., snapped that what the newspapers say against Roosevelt "don't mean a thing." Not only will he vote Roosevelt, 'but the whole house where I work, down in the Village," will vote the same way.

Negro Runs for Senate in S. C.

Journal.—Atlanta, Ga.

8-31-44

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 31.—(U.P.)—A Belgium-educated South Carolina Negro is competitng against a Democratic governor and a Republican for the South Carolina Senate seat of E. D. "Cotton Ed" Smith.

The Negro, 51-year-old Osceola McKaine, of Sumter, was nominated Wednesday by the Progressive (Negro) Democratic Party and was believed to be the first member of his race to seek public office in the state on a Democratic ticket. 8-31-44

His opponents were to be Governor Olin D. Johnston, who defeated Smith in the recent state Democratic primary, and James B. Gaston, the G. O. P. nominee.

Carolina Negro Runs For Senate

Register — Mobile, Ala

8-31-44

Governor Johnson To Have Opposition In Fall

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(UP)—A negro newspaper editor was named Wednesday to oppose Gov. Olin D. Johnston in a race for the Senate in the coming general elections.

Osceola McKaine, associate editor of the Columbia Lighthouse and Informer, was picked as the nominee of the Progressive Democratic Party, a predominantly negro group founded shortly after the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case.

Party Chairman John McCray announced the selection after a meeting here of the party's executive committee.

McCray said McKaine was a lieutenant with the 367th Infantry Division in France during the last war.

Johnston is the nominee of the regular Democratic party, having defeated incumbent Sen. E. D. (Cotton Ed) Smith in the state party primary.

Negroes In 2 Big Cities 5 to 2 for Roosevelt

Courier Journal — Louisville, Ky.

10-5-44

Special to The Courier-Journal.

New York, Oct. 4.—After a survey of Negro political opinion in New York City and Chicago, Fortune magazine reports that 70.9 per cent of Negroes in these two areas favor re-election of President Roosevelt, while 27 per cent support Thomas E. Dewey and 2.1 per cent are undecided.

This survey was made the latter half of August by Negro interviewers under direction of the firm of Elmo Roper.

The survey also disclosed that 97 per cent of the Negroes in these two northern cities want the Federal Government to create more job opportunities for Negroes during the next four years. Among those who feel this way and are for Roosevelt, 22.6 per cent (or 15.5 per cent of the total Chicago-New York Negro population) would be willing to switch their votes to Dewey if, by the end of the campaign, Dewey seemed more willing than Roosevelt to create these opportunities. Conversely, 6.1 per cent of the total would switch from Dewey to Roosevelt for the same reason.

Possibilities stated.

Here is how Negro opinion divided on the question: "With which of these statements do you come closest to agreeing?"

Roosevelt has done an excellent job and it's very important that he should be President the next four years	29.7%
While he has made some mistakes and he's been in office a long time, it is still better to elect Roosevelt as President again for the next four years	41.2%
Total	70.9%
Although Roosevelt has done some good things, he has been President long enough and the country would be better off to elect Dewey for the next four years	16.6%
It would be a very bad thing for this country to re-elect Roosevelt for another four years	10.4%
Total	27.0%
Don't know	2.1%

10-5-44

Dewey Stronger In Chicago.

A breakdown discloses considerably more Dewey strength in Chicago than in New York. In Chicago the percentages stand: Roosevelt, 64.4; Dewey, 33.8; don't know, 1.8. The preferences in New York run: Roosevelt, 77.6; Dewey, 20.0; don't know, 2.4.

The next question dealt with labor policies for the coming years. The question, with replies:

"Which one of these statements comes closest to expressing what you would like to see our Government try to do about labor unions during the next four years or so?"

10-5-44

Labor Queries Answered.

Stop all labor unions from operating	6.2%
Allow labor unions to continue, but take away some of their power	26.8%
Keep labor unions about as powerful as they are now, but see to it that their bad practices are reformed	36.3%
Encourage the labor unions and leave it up to them to improve those things that need to be improved	24.2%
Don't know	6.5%

The Fortune survey also asked: "Regardless of what you hope, who do you think will win—Roosevelt or Dewey?" The answers follow, broken down for the two cities: 10-5-44

	Chicago	New York
Roosevelt	76.2%	77.7%
Dewey	16.0	6.3
Don't know	7.8	16.0

The Negro Voters' Swing Toward FDR Gaining

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

By EUGENE GORDON

10-29-44

The Negro voters' political temperature shot up to fever pitch during the past 10 days. Here are some of the contributing factors in leading to these heightened political developments: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' detailed statement why he supports Roosevelt; the New York Age's breaking its 60-year rule of supporting Republican presidential candidates and declaring for Roosevelt; Justice Francis E. Rivers' failure, at the Herald Tribune forum (as broadcast on a nationwide hook-up) publicly to endorse the Republican Party's platform or even to mention Dewey's name; the complete flop of the Republicans' "gala" rally at the Union Baptist Church, Ne York, last Monday night; continued inquiries by Roosevelt's Fair Emeployment Practice Committee into cases of alleged discrimination; Navy Department's announcement that Negro women would be admitted into the WAVES and the SPARS. 10-29-44

It will be noticed, without my doing much pointing, that each of the incidents mentioned here was made to order for Roosevelt. If everything had gone just that way, however, there would have been little excitement.

The fact that everything did not go for Roosevelt is what caused the excitement. The fact that certain regrettable actions were simultaneously taking place—that caused some pain. I refer specifically to stories from the South about continued mistreatment of Negro soldiers. These stories are causing bitterness to Negro supporters of the President. 10-29-44

This bitterness is being assuaged by such sensible spokesmen among the Negroes as the Peoples Voice, (N. Y.), The Oklahoma Black Dispatch, the Chicago Defender, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Judge Joseph Rainly of Philadelphia; Lighthouse and Informer (S. C.).

Quotations from statements by two or three of these spokesmen will illustrate:

Black Dispatch:—". . . we do not intend to impress anyone that everything is ideal and lovely, but rather, we want our readers to think objectively and note the actual progress being made toward definite goals. There is still much to be done in the army, in industry, and in other fields, but . . . during the Roosevelt administration Negroes in the United States have been moving in the right direction. . ."

Judge Rainey:— "President Roosevelt has always opposed the polltax and his forthright statement Thursday night (Oct. 12) will give impetus to the drive to remove the barriers which have thwarted the political advancement of our people in the South."

Lighthouse and Informer:—"We don't say that all has been perfect under his administration. We wouldn't want it that way, or expect it. No human being makes microscopes to find tiny specks of faults on the outside. It is easy to stay outside and tell what might have been inside. As for the Republicans, we believe outside is their proper place. In South Carolina they have never done anything for themselves. They cannot do anything for the Negroes."

10-29-44

Dewey Meets With Missouri GOP Leaders, Pleases Them

Call — Kansas City, Mo.

Will Continue His Policy of Equal Opportunity

8-11-44

ST. LOUIS, — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, whose record of appointing Negroes to important positions is well known, pledged here Friday, August 4, to continue in the White House the principles of equality of opportunity for persons of all races which he practiced as governor of New York.

In a conference with 40 Negro Republican leaders of St. Louis and other Missouri cities, the Republican nominee said that he is not a man to make many promises but that his action in the past 14 years indicated his attitude on the race question.

BASIC THEORY

8-11-44

His basic theory, he said, is to select people because of merit and not because of their color. Among those he named as having been appointed to high posts in New York because of their qualifications were Judge Francis E. Rivers, recently elected judge of the city court who began his public career as a Dewey appointee to the attorney general's office; Mrs. Eunice Carter and James Yergan, now in the attorney general's office; Mrs. Bertha Diggs, secretary of the industrial department of the state of New York and Dr. C. B. Powell, member of the state boxing commission.

Gov. Dewey said that his appointment of a Negro to the boxing commission caused an "awful raucus," but that Powell is doing a better job than any of the other commissioners.

8-11-44

When the Republicans go to Washington in January, Dewey said, "the policy of appointing persons according to merit and not race will be continued. "The important thing," he said, "is who and what a person himself is, not what his parents were.

PROUD OF PLANKS

Dewey attacked the weak planks in the Democratic platform on the Negro question. "The failure of the Democrats," he said, "to put a respectable plank on Negroes in their platform is a shocking surrender that they are concerned only in whatever is profitable politically at the moment."

8-11-44

The G.O.P. nominee said that he is proud of the planks in the Republican platform which he said were adopted without a ripple of opposition. The planks call for an immediate investigation of discrimination in the armed forces, the continuance of the FEPC, and passage of anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation.

The conference with the Negro group Friday was one of a series of meetings which Dewey held all that day with various group interests. He stayed in St. Louis an extra day for these conferences after concluding his two-day conference with the other 25 Republican governors of the nation on Thursday.

PRESS CONFERENCES HELD

8-11-44

The governors' conference at the Hotel Statler was closed to the press and public but press conferences were held twice daily with newspaper men. Reporters from Negro newspapers attended.

At the first press conference where Dewey outlined the 14 points on the agenda to be discussed by the governors, Dewey was asked by The Call representative whether the subject of racial minorities would be included in the discussions.

Dewey answered that that subject was fully covered in the Republican platform and that since the Democratic platform was such a "total blank," the subject would not be discussed intensively. "We have done a good job already," he said, "and since it is not a subject on which there is basic conflict between federal and state governments, it will not be an issue here."

MAIN PURPOSE

Dewey explained that the main purpose of the governors' conference was to reconcile differences between federal and state authority on carrying out the Republican platform.

8-11-44

Following the group meeting with Negroes, which was arranged by William Morant, constable and prominent Republican, the Missourians expressed confidence that Dewey could carry Missouri and the nation in November.

The Rev. Jasper C. Bell, pastor of the Memorial Baptist church and an alderman in the City of St. Louis, said: "I am 100 per cent behind Dewey. I like the man, know his record and am acquainted with the men associated with him. They are all 100 per cent. There is no veneer about Dewey. He is the same year in and year out. He is not afraid of Negroes. He has got to win."

Asked whether he implied that Roosevelt is afraid of Negroes, Caston said, "Ask him to have his picture taken with them."

Dewey posed for still movie and still pictures with Negroes at the opening of the conference.

Dr. J. R. A. Crossland of St. Joseph, who came to St. Louis for the conference with Dewey, said that he has followed Dewey's record for 12 years and that he is impressed with his appointment of Negroes on their merit. "Negroes of Missouri will support Dewey with patriotic ferver, faith infallible and purpose undivided. The 1944 election will see Negroes rallying under his leadership." Dr. Crossland is a former U. S. minister to Liberia.

COMMENTS MADE

8-11-44

Morant said that Negroes received from Dewey the finest reception ever received from any person who aspired to the Presidency. He says Dewey is bound to win.

Sidney Redmond, attorney, commented "Everyone was favorably impressed with the forthright position of Governor Dewey."

Atty. Harvey Tucker, president of the 23rd ward Republican club, said, "Dewey is all right. His attitude on the appointment of Negroes to office in New York is sane and sound. He considers all citizens alike and makes appointments on a basis of merit. I agree with his policy as Negroes want no special consideration."

Charles E. Robinson of Jefferson City, director of the Negro division of the State Board of Health and leading state Republican, said that the Negroes of Missouri are completely satisfied with Dewey and that it will be the best for America if Dewey is elected President. "His record speaks for itself."

8-11-44

William O. McMahon, director of the Industrial Home for Negro Girls at Tipton, said that Dewey "has everything. I like his ingratiating personality. He walked into that room of strangers and made everyone feel at home." McMahon said that Dewey would easily carry Missouri and that Senator Truman's name on the opposite ticket would help Dewey win in Missouri.

Mrs. Benjamin H. King said that Dewey is a "grand person." She feels that every self-respecting Negro will support him because of his record and what he has done.

Mrs. Virginia Reece said that Dewey practices what he preaches and will have no trouble winning.

N. A. Sweets, publisher of the St. Louis American, said that Dewey will carry Missouri despite Truman.

OTHERS ATTENDING

8-11-44

Others who attended the conference and expressed confidence in Dewey's election included the Rev. Russell Brown, pastor of St. Paul A. M. E. church; Judge Crittenden E. Clark, former justice of the peace; James A. Cook, executive secretary of the Pine Street Y.M.C.A.; Barney Bemis, insurance man; Bige Wyatt, taxicab owner; the Rev. W. D. Wilwins, pastor, Wayman Temple A.M.E. church; Atty. Harry Bracy, prosecuting attorney's office; the Rev. J. H. McLin, pastor, Lane Tabernacle; A. W. Lloyd, former grand chancellor, Knights of Pythias; William E. Taylor, Lincoln university law school; G. D. Brantley, principal Sumner high school; the Rev. Fred A. Hughes, pastor, St. James A.M.E. church; Dr. T. G. Benjamin, the Rev. W. A. Cooper, pastor, Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion church; U. S. Falls, vice president, National Business League; Atty. Henry D. Espy, Dr. W. D. Morman, Mound City Medical association; Dr. W. B. Christian, superintendent of Homer Phillips hospital; W. J. Morgan, Langston Harrison, constable; Charles L. Lumpkin, Dr. La Jean Blythe, Ben Bush, Ellis Jones and Captain Walter Lowe.

To Adam C. Powell Jr.

Amsterdam News 8-12-44

Sir: Appearing in the New York Times Thursday, August 3, 1944 under the heading "Marcantonia Foes Will Seek Inquiry" ends with the statement from Mr. Powell, the newly elected candidate to Congress, to his headquarters in which he states he will probably allign himself with the Democrats in Congress.

New York, N.Y.

As a voter from this district in which Mr. Powell lives, I wish to state that we want a man who is to be our elected representative in Congress to have the courage to take an out-right stand in expressing his convictions as to which party or parties he will allign himself.

Again, I wish to call his attention to the latter part of his statement, in which he states he will be ready to read a lecture to Southern Democrats if they assailed equality for Negroes. I would like to ask Mr. Powell just when have not Southern Democrats not only assailed but actively and openly opposed equal rights for Negroes? And the mere fact that he would be ready to read them a lecture would create no change in them, nor bring about any constructive legislation for equal treatment for us. After all, a man may be ready to do certain things and still lack the initiative and courage to put those things in actual working conditions.

I also call Mr. Powell's attention to promises made prior to the election, and ask him if he, too, were only making campaign promises. We of this district want a Congressman who will not only be ready to read a lecture to Southern Democrats, but to put up actual and constructive work to bring about equal rights for us; not only from Southern Democrats, but Northern and all other forces that may wish and work to withhold from us our right to live as American citizens.

8-12-44

It is also well for you to remember the returns showed eight thousand Republicans to two thousand Democrats voted for you, and we GOP's may be somewhat like the proverbial elephant, we do not readily forget.

Angela Anderson

Does The GOP Want A Strong Party In Dixie?

World – Memphis, Tenn.

By A White Southern Editor
(For the Associated Negro Press)

OBVIOUSLY Republicans are making a strong bid for the Negro vote in northern states, Gov. Dewey's record is not too good on issues which are vital to the Negro, but the Chicago platform, on which he presumably stands (mustache and all) is more specific and more favorable than the Democratic platform.

9-12-44

In brief, it appears that Negroes should decide upon the basis of what the respective candidates say during the campaign before voting in November.

Negroes, and all other minorities, should also be sure they hit one or the other parties so hard in November that they'll know they have been hurt. Minorities, and especially the Negro, do not owe either party anything.

However, before going to the polls Negroes should consider a few facts. All of the things mentioned below are true, and can be verified by any clever and impartial investigator.

They include:

9-12-44

The Republican party has been in power, with some brief exceptions, almost continuously since the war between the states. During all these years there has been no sincere effort to build a real Republican party in the deep south. Goodness knows there is almost nothing complimentary to say about Southern "Democrats," however, it is obvious that the Negro has received more benefits during the Roosevelt regime than during all the years since the Emancipation proclamation.

NAME MAIL CARRIERS

About the only visible results of Negro loyalty to the Republicans is appointment of Negro city mail carriers; and the sending of money to buy up delegates for GOP candidates for President. (Needless to say, this money never reached the poor people; no more than Democratic pre-convention money ever reaches the rank and file.)

If the GOP has ever made any serious effort to see that the Negro and other underdogs in the south secured the ballot, the effort was so secretive that not even the Southern Negro knows anything about it.

9-12-44

As for the record of Southern Democrats in this matter, all there is to say has already been said. Furthermore, it is too indecent to discuss in "mixed company."

The only time Republicans have carried any southern states in a national election (in many years) was 1928, when the Hoovercrats went to and fro, whispering that the pope had already packed up and was ready to catch the next boat for America, and move into the White House along with Al Smith. We Nordics did not intend to kiss to any Wop's toe, so we looked under the bed every night during the fall of 1928, just to be sure the College for Cardinals wasn't hiding there, waiting for us to go to sleep before sneaking out to cut the throats of the men and put the women in convents. Come November, we voted for a chicken in every garage, or maybe it was a Catholic in every pot.

USE THE NEGRO

9-12-44

Republicans have seldom had any effective help at election time from southern whites and one wonders why they've never made any real effort to build up a party in the south by doing something worthwhile for poor whites and Negroes. Furthermore, Republicans have never hesitated to use, and encourage the use of the Negro as a whipping boy when they felt there was the slightest chance to get some electoral votes in the solid south.

For instance, a day or so before the GOP national convention met, southern newspaper editors received a pamphlet caption, in blackface type: "The Only Sure Way to Abolish the Fair Employment Practices Committee." Perusal of the folder disclosed that it said, in language which Herr Goebbles would envy, that the sure way was to elect John W. Bricker, president. (Even non-gamblers would be safe in wagering that this folder was not sent to editors of Negro newspapers). 9-12-44

Other items indicative of the difference between GOP tactics in the north and south include:

Down here the people who say they are Republicans are the same people who most violently oppose Negroes, Jews and other "furriners." With few exceptions, it is the FDR—haters who incessantly lambast the minorities.

OPPOSE SOCIAL GAINS

On the whole southern Republicans, 'and those who sympathize with them, are the people who talk about the "good old days" when "the N . . r knew his place," and made no effort to get out; they oppose all the meagre social gains made during the past 10 years.

9-12-44

One could go on for pages like this, but it's unnecessary.

And, do not forget that Eugene Talmadge and Thomas Linder, two of the most anti-social men in the south, held conferences with Republican leaders during (or just before) the Chicago convention. A Chicago newspaper quoted the Georgia ex-governor as saying that the only friends he had now were Republicans; and Talmadge has never denied the statement.

CITING RECORD

This is not a defense of the Democratic party; it is simply a few facts about the record of the GOP in the south. (It would require a more ingenious mind than the writer possesses to think of anything nice to say about Southern Democrats). 9-12-44

It is too late this year, but it maybe that the only solution is for all liberals to unite and form another party. To do this, the minorities should begin immediately after the November election.

Meanwhile liberals, (radicals, Communists, reds, anarchists, or whatever the status quo boys wish to call those who believe in the simple doctrine of the brotherhood of mankind as taught by Jesus), must decide between Dewey and Roosevelt in November.

Behind the Chicago Scene

Newsweek — Dayton, Ohio

by ERNEST K. LINDLEY

7-31-44

By the rules of politics, the shift from Wallace to Truman was strategically sound but tactically inept. Seasoned Democratic politicians were overwhelmingly of the opinion that Wallace's renomination would cost votes in November. But the switch was so managed as to create two impressions: (1) that it was dictated by the big-city machine bosses; (2) that Roosevelt was playing one game with his left hand and another with his right. Some delegates and observers at the Chicago convention made the first interpretation, some the second. Many went home unpleasantly puzzled.

This, in brief, is what happened behind the scenes: Until shortly before the convention, Roosevelt decidedly preferred Wallace. He thought that if called upon Wallace would make a fine President, and he argued that in the election Wallace's political assets would balance his liabilities. Less than three weeks before the convention, one state leader said he would deliver his entire delegation to the Vice Presidential nominee designated by the President. He asked Roosevelt bluntly whom he wanted as a running mate. Quite as flatly, Roosevelt said: "Wallace."

7-31-44

But then some of Roosevelt's oldest political advisers went to work on him. The most persuasive probably was Edward J. Flynn, Democratic leader of the Bronx, for fifteen years one of Roosevelt's frankest and most loyal friends. Flynn told him that with Wallace on the ticket, he might as well kiss good-by to the electoral votes of New York and possibly of several other large doubtful states in the North.

That Wallace was a red flag to the conservative Democrats of the South was obvious. In the face of the strong and nearly unanimous testimony of the professional politicians, relayed by Flynn and a few others, Roosevelt wavered, then yielded. He could not bring himself, however, to ask Wallace to withdraw. When Wallace returned from China, Secretary Ickes and Sam Rosenman, a White House aide, tried to tell him what was what. But he ignored their advice. Later the same day, Roosevelt hinted to Wallace that he should drop out of the contest. But when Wallace replied that he had more delegates than anyone else, Roosevelt did not press the point. Instead, he agreed to state publicly that if he were a delegate he would vote for Wallace. 7-31-44

The Wallace letter was so left-handed, however, that it was an open signal for other candidates to get into the race. James F. Byrnes made a flying start. Here again, the President could not bring himself to speak with frank directness to a friend and aide. On the score of ability he would have welcomed Byrnes as his running mate, but he knew that the nomination of Byrnes would entail political risks. An intermediary sought to dissuade Byrnes from entering the race. Byrnes must have known that the intermediary spoke for the President, but, like Wallace, he felt entitled to his chance until he was flagged by "The Chief" himself.

Hannegan, Flynn, Postmaster General Frank C. Walker, another loyal Roosevelt adviser for fifteen years, and a few others of the inner political circle left for Chicago with a fairly clear picture of the President's political mind and with authority to act as his agents. They knew that among half a dozen or so possible nominees unburdened by heavy political liabilities, the President favored Douglas and Truman, in that order. Douglas was acceptable to Kelly of Chicago and to some of the New Englanders, as well as the West Coast Democrats. 7-31-44

But the balance of opinion was in favor of Truman. The AFL and the railway brotherhoods preferred him. So did Flynn and the Southerners who were consulted. While keeping the door open for Douglas, Roosevelt accordingly authorized the use of his name in behalf of Truman. He also intervened directly by telephone, as well as by his letter to Hannegan, which only ratified an earlier verbal agreement.

In this dilemma, Roosevelt, the kind-hearted man, loyal to friends who had been loyal to him and whose abilities he respected, stood on one side. Roosevelt, the realistic politician, stood on the other. He tried to express both aspects of his personality, to discharge two responsibilities. If he had been able to decide ten days earlier which was foremost, the shift from Wallace to another acceptable Vice Presidential nominee could have been managed gracefully and a strategically sound plan would not have been marred by awkward tactics.

Negro Support Of Democrats Amazes Writer

By DEAN VICTOR

One of the most amazing yet thoroughly rational developments in American politics is the growing allegiance of Southern Negroes to the Democratic party, despite its traditional bias in the Southern states. This development has an interesting history which dates back to the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

With the Roosevelt victory over Herbert Hoover who found himself at sea and helpless in one of the greatest crises in the nation's history, the Northern wing of the Democratic party won a dominant place in the party councils. Striking swiftly and aggressively at the root causes of the depression and providing at the same time temporary relief measures for the suffering President Roosevelt captured the imagination of the American people in a manner unequaled by any President in modern history.

Startles Wall Street

The broad humanitarianism of President Roosevelt soon began to translate itself into administrative measures which were startling to the Wall Street crowd and the Republican and reactionary Democratic legislators who usually echoed the Big Business point of view. Convinced that half-way measures would not work, the President created benefits for all Americans regardless of color who were on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

9-30-44

The low-cost housing program, the National Youth Administration, the public health program, the agricultural measures and farm loan programs, social security, Federal bank deposit insurance, Home Owners Loan corporation, etc., all have benefited the so-called "common man" and particularly the Negro people. Gradually the benefits of these and similar agencies made themselves felt in the most backward and depressed area of the South.

For the first time, Southern Negroes got direct benefits from the Federal government which no "state's rights" demagogues could thwart. For the first time the Negro was integrated in these government agencies even in the South.

The rising tide of Southern Negro sentiment for President Roosevelt however, reached its highest point in the last few years as a result of the liberal Supreme Court decisions which are destined to transform the Southern social order. The Roosevelt appointed justices of the Supreme Court have forced the revamping of Southern education in order that Negroes may get higher educational opportunities by its decision in the Lloyd Gaines case. They have struck a death blow to the Southern white primary system by the famous Texas decision which led the most reactionary Southerners to threaten to bolt the Democratic Party.

9-30-44

The terrific momentum which the Roosevelt administration has generated among Southern liberals has enabled statesmen like Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, Lister Hill of Alabama to win with liberal records and helped to defeat the hardened reactionaries like Talmadge of Georgia and "Cotton" Ed Smith of South Carolina.

The New Deal programs which gave Southern Negroes a real chance to work at better wages, to live in decent housing and to get better health and educational facilities have, together with Supreme Court decisions, given the Southern Negro a new outlook, new hopes for the future.

9-30-44

Publishers With FDR

In the light of the above facts the strong pro-Roosevelt stand of the most prominent Negro newspaper publishers of the South who know most intimately the problems confronting Southern Negroes does not come as a great surprise. C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World, John McCray of South Carolina, Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma, Carter Wesley of Texas and P. B. Young of Norfolk, Virginia are among the nationally known Southern publishers who are supporting the reelection of President Roosevelt.

So. Carolina Picks Negro As Candidate

Tribune — Philadelphia, Pa.

9-16-44

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Osceola E. McKaine, 51-year-old editor and traveler was chosen candidate for the U. S. Senate here by the executive committee of the Progressive Democratic Party to oppose Governor Olin D. Johnston, nominee of the South Carolina Democratic P which has remained aloof ored membership.

In accepting his nomination, Mr. McKaine said he had as good a chance as any other candidate to be elected. "The only thing the people who believe as we believe should do is to be ready to vote and make certain that they and their friends vote the right ticket. We don't know how many votes we have waiting for us and should work only to get every possible vote on our column." A vigorous campaign will be conducted, he said.

Lionel Hampton Gives Powell $1000

Afro American — Baltimore, Md.

5-20-44

NEW YORK — Lionel Hampton gave a check for $1000 to the Powell for Congress campaign Sunday.

A thousand delegates cheered Powell who pledged himself if elected, to work for a Federal Equal Rights Bill, to dare any

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son of a "Fascist," to push him round, and to return week ends to see his constituents.

Unprecedented Political Campaign Launched for Roosevelt's Reelection

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

9-30-44

An unprecedented political campaign and the largest independent one ever organized by Negroes got under way this week with the launching of the National Non-Partisan League by the CHICAGO DEFENDER and its affiliated publications, which will operate in 19 states, to bring out the Negro vote for President Roosevelt. In a front-page editorial in the CHICAGO DEFENDER last week, the leaders of the movement expressed their position on the current Presidential campaign, stating that the Negro, "from purely selfish and practical motives can have but one choice in 1944." To neglect to put all their voting power behind Roosevelt, the editorial pointed out, "is to abandon liberalism," to "commit hari-kari," and to throw up the sponge in his battle for equal rights under American democracy."

John H. Sengstacke, president of the **Robert S. Abbott Publishing Co.**, which publishes the **Defender** and has a majority interests in the **Michigan Chronicle** and the **Louisville Defender**, is the honorary chairman of the league. He, with the editor of the **Chicago Defender**, Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard, and other officers of his company, have been here for more than a week, laying the groundwork for the campaign, which will have its headquarters in Chicago and an office in New York City. 9-30-44

LOCKE JOINS

The group expects to enroll at least 1,000 Negroes, many of whom will be "new faces in the arena of the fight for liberalism," **said Mr. Sengstacke, adding that** "the time for bogus opportunistic leadership has passed." Dr. Alain Leroy Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University, and a writer of prominence, was the first to join up with the group this week.

The league will define and delineate the issues of the Presidential campaign as they affect the Negro through the press and by the distribution of literature. It will be financed by the contributions of Negroes and its emphasis will be placed upon getting out the Negro vote. To this end, it will stress work with in-migrant Negroes, especially those who have come from disfranchised southern states to northern areas during recent months. 9-30-44

"This will be the first chance for many of the folks to translate their voices in political action for liberalism," said Sengstacke. Therefore, included among the 19 states are Washington, Oregon, Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Negro populations of which have been greatly increased during the migration for jobs.

TO SELECT OFFICERS

Other states included in the campaign are Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, California, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

Among the methods to be used in the organization's drive will be to encourage listening posts—that is, to encourage Negroes to listen to all speeches in behalf of Roosevelt. The first action of this sort will be directed toward the speech of Vice-President Wallace at the Golden Gate Ballroom here Sunday, which will be broadcast to several states. 9-30-44

Other newspapers which have joined up with the League are the **St. Louis Argus** and the Oklahoma **Black Dispatch**. The organization of the league will be completed next week, when officers will be chosen and more detailed plans mapped out.

Negroes Organize For Fourth Term

World Telegram 9-26-44
New York, N.Y.

Organization of the National Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Roosevelt, headed by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, was announced here today by 35 Negro leaders.

"We will work and vote for those men and those measures which, irrespective of party labels, will best advance the welfare of our people," the committee's statement said. Among the officers of the committee are Doxey A. Wilkerson, vice chairman, and Capt. Hugh Mulzac, regional vice chairman, both of New York.

The Changing South

Journal + Guide
Norfolk, Va. 6-3-44

By ROY WILKINS

In the N. Y. Amsterdam News

The people who use race hatred as political weapon took a licking in the Florida and Alabama primaries, May 2. Senator Claude Pepper won his race in Florida and Senator Lister Hill, won in Alabama. California readers of this column will be interested to know that the biggest argument used against Pepper was a picture of him in a Los Angeles church speaking to a Negro audience. The biggest argument against Hill was the fact that he, as a member of the United States Senate, was one of a committee which escorted President Edwin Barclay of the Negro Republic of Liberia to the rostrum to make a brief address to the Senate. To this level has a political election fallen in Dixie in this fateful year of 1944!

But it is giving the South too much credit to say the campaign fell only that far. As a matter of fact, it dropped to new low levels even for the South, by dragging in Mrs. Roosevelt. In Alabama, a new political sheet, published just for the election, called the **Alabama Sun**, spread pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt and Negroes all over its front page, with such headings as "Eleanor With a Nigger Again," or "Eleanor and Her Black Niggers." This paper was published by people who keep telling us they are the superior race and they only are fitted to vote and run a country! 6-3-44

These are the people who must deal with Brazil, 25 percent Negroid. They must keep the peace with Mexico. They must try to deal with the Soviet Union, a country whose constitution has a section — 123 — which outlaws race discrimination. They must sit across the table from China, a non-white nation, and they must face the fact of 350 million Indians and 160 million Africans.

They think it does not matter what they do to 13 million Negroes, what insults they heap upon them, what restrictions they place around them. These, to them, are still the good old days of 1865-1900. They do not know the world has moved since then, that the Negro has moved, and that they only present a tragically ludicrous picture with their "white supremacy" twaddle. They do not know that a man, in today's world is superior because he is superior not because he is white, or yellow, or black; and that if he is a jackass, he is a jackass, if he be as white as the driven snow.

6-3-44

Hill and Pepper were re-elected because, first, there is a growing disgust in the South among white people for the race hatred tactics of the extremists; and second because the CIO has been able to educate thousands of new union members in the war production centers.

The race haters in the South are being beaten back. They are not defeated, and they have plenty of steam left, but they cannot win.

White South Carolinians Back Negro for Senate

People's Voice — New York, N.Y.

9-30-44

COLUMBIA (FP)—Many white South Carolinians are supporting the U. S. Senate candidacy of Osceola E. McKaine, 51-year-old Sumter Negro who helped organize the United Furniture Workers (CIO) in this state. McKaine, associate editor of the militant newspaper, the Columbia "Lighthouse and Informer" is running as the standard bearer of the newly formed interracial Progressive Democratic party against the regular lily white Democratic candidate for the Senate, Gov. Olin D. Johnston.

The Progressive Democratic party was launched last spring with an initial capital of $5 contributed by a white woman, after the regular Democratic organizaton refused to obey a U. S. Supreme Court decision permitting Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries. 9-30-44

McKaine is making a statewide campaign on a platform which includes firm support for the foreign and domestic policies of Pres. Roosevelt, the right of labor to organize as a step toward economic reconstruction for South Carolina, protection and encouragement for the small businessman, federal aid to education with equal funds for white and Negro children, continuation of the FEPC.

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SOUTHERN LIBERALS AGAINST THE TIDES

Defender — Chicago, Ill.
5-6-44

The South's two leading liberals in the United States Senate face a bitter fight in the most crucial Democratic primary campaigns of our times. Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Lister Hill of Alabama have an unbroken record of consistent support of progressive New Deal legislations. Reactionary South is fighting them on the ground that their re-election to the United States Senate would usher in a new era of racial equality. As was expected, the opposition candidates have dragged into the campaign everything that can possibly inflame the advocates of white supremacy. The following is a typical sample of campaign literature used in daily papers by one of the opposition candidates:

"Delicate racial relationships peculiar to the South are being disrupted by radical agitators who are seeking to use the war as a lever to overthrow our social structure and ram social equality down our southern throats . . . Mine will be a positive voice in the Senate that will stand guard, speak out, hold the line against troublemakers on the outside who seek to destroy our time-tested segregation principle and tear down established traditions." 5-6-44

In its blind determination to remain feudal, the South is unable to see the pragmatic value to have men of the warp and woof of Hill and Pepper to represent it in Congress. Yet it is through such enlightened men, though few, that a great many economic benefits of the present administration have swollen the financial streams of an empoverished, half-starved South. Though Hill does not vary much from the southern belief in the wisdom of segregation, he has on many instances advocated racial cooperation and fair dealing. No one who is familiar with their record can deny the fact that both Hill and Pepper have a better understanding of the true processes of civilization than either Bilbo or Rankin.

Time For Decision

People's Voice — New york, N.Y.

THE MOST CRUCIAL ELECTIONS in the history of our country are less than six weeks off. It is no exaggeration to say that the future of our nation and the world, certainly any continued progress toward full democratic rights for Negro Americans, will be decisively influenced by the vote on November 7.

9-30-44

In the words of the newly-organized National Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Roosevelt, **"The time for neutrality has passed, and the time for clear-cut decision and vigorous action is here. Who now sits on the sidelines, however worthy his intentions, lends strength and encouragement to those forces who would destroy the freedom and security of our nation."**

As the election campaign gathers momentum, more and more leaders and groups recognize this urgent need for decision and action, and begin to assume their political responsibility to the Negro people and the nation. The National Non-Partisan Committee comes into being (page 3), representing the union of eminent leaders of all political affiliations in support of Roosevelt and Truman. A great Negro weekly, **The Chicago Defender,** declares its non-partisan support for the reelection of President Roosevelt. A conference of Methodist ministers meeting in Wilmington, Delaware, urges the Christian church to abandon its traditional policy of "keeping out of politics." Here and there throughout the country, new political-action groups are emerging and involving hundreds of thousands of citizens in active campaigning for the first time in their lives.

In the midst of all this upsurge of political activity, it is indeed anomalous to find the oldest and most influential of the Negro organizations sitting on the sidelines, "neutral," giving no guidance to the Negro people, and even inhibiting the organized expression of their civic responsibilities.

9-30-44

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People distorts the meaning of "non-partisanship" to something comparable to political impotence. Not only are its paid officials prevented from "taking sides" in the election campaign, but its hundreds of thousands of members throughout the country are not allowed to use the NAACP branches, **their** local channels for organized expression, to promote the election of candidates upon whose victory their very freedom and livelihood depend. To a somewhat less extreme degree, much the same policy of inactive "non-partisanship" is followed by the National Urban League.

These are times which call for true "non-partisanship," for disregard of party labels and support of **men** and **issues.** But these are also times which call for **decision** and **action.** There can be no "neutrals," and whoever now seeks to pose as such is laying himself and all his fellows open to the deadly assault which the double-talking Dewey and his reactionary supporters are preparing for our nation and the world.

9-30-44

It is entirely possible that, in this crucial period of national decision, certain of our old and established Negro organizations are in the process of relinquishing, through default, their leadership of the Negro people. Perhaps, largely as a result of this election campaign, Negro Americans will turn more and more to organized labor and other groups for effective leadership in politics and other realms. If our oldest and best-established Negro organizations continue their refusal to play a vital role in the now all-important political life of our nation, such a transfer of leadership would be a salutary and wholesome development.

Republicans Dissatisfied With Dr. C. B. Powell

People's Voice — New york, N.Y.

9-30-44

Disturbed because their efforts to corral the Negro vote for Thomas E. Dewey have lacked punch and vitality, Negro Republicans primarily from the midwest and far west were here last week conferring with Herbert Brownell jr, Republican National Committee chairman, on ways and means of either eliminating or subordinating Dr. C. B. Powell, assistant publicity director, in the GOP picture, the ANP learned authentically and exclusively this week.

9-30-44

Long considered the front man for City Court Judge Francis E. Rivers, and close friend to the GOP presidential nominee, Dr. Powell has been the object of much criticism from within the party for his failure to cope with the vigor being evidenced throughout the combined talents of the Democratic National committee and the CIO Political Action committee.

Negro Ire Against Dewey

Journal & Guide — Norfolk, Va

From Richmond Times-Dispatch

GOVERNOR DEWEY has the inside track for the Republican nomination for President, but an important bloc of votes which the Republicans had hoped was in the bag, seems rapidly to be deserting him. This is the Negro vote.

This vote had been gravitating away from Mr. Roosevelt, principally on the ground that segregation of the races has been continued in the armed forces, despite protests, and that the Fair Employment Practice Commission has not succeeded in getting as many jobs for Negroes as they had hoped for.

But suddenly Dewey lost the friendship of nearly the whole Negro press by bringing about the death in New York Legislature of two "antidiscrimination bills," and by his substitution of a third bill creating a new commission which would report on "racial intolerance" after the November election.

4-22-44

PM, the anti-Dewey and Leftist New York newspaper, summarizes the results as follows: "Negro leaders are concentrating on the defeat of Dewey at the Republican nominating convention. If Dewey is the designee of his party for the presidential race, then the strategy of the Negro people nationally will be to defeat Dewey in the elections."

Dewey Promises to End Jim Crow in Army, Navy

Afro American — Baltimore, md.

7-8-44

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey is "in favor of eliminating segregation" in the armed forces "where it is possible" and says he is "wholly" in accord with the permanent FEPC plank in the party's platform.

The GOP Presidential candidate expressed himself on these and other questions which ultimately will be developed in the forthcoming campaign in the course of his first press conference Thursday morning following his acceptance speech the night before.

Several hundred reporters, including many of the topflight writers, crowded into the north ballroom of the Stevens Hotel to shoot questions at the man who would be president.

He opened his conference with a few remarks in which he said that he wanted to make it clear that decisions regarding organization will be jointly arrived at between himself and his running mate, Gov. John W. Bricker.

Colored Reporter Beats Gong

He had no sooner finished when a colored reporter shot a question at him regarding his attitude on the FEPC plank.

7-8-44

"I have read the platform hastily once on the airplane," he said slowly. "As I recall it," he continued, "the plan sounds as though it represented wholly my own viewpoint."

Later Dewey chose to elaborate upon his attitude about the party platform and said it is a document prepared by a large number of people with "conflicting views." Natrally, he said, there were "inevitable compromises."

Would End Military J. C.

Another reporter queried him on his views as to segregation in the armed forces, to which the nominee replied:

"It's a very difficult problem which will have to be worked out over a period of time. I am not a military expert."

7-8-44

Pressed further, he added: "I am in favor of eliminating segregation wherever possible."

Dewey, asked his views on the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, said he would "observe my oath to enforce the Constitution to the best of my ability in all ways."

NEW DEAL RACIAL BIAS.

Tribune

Chicago, Oct. 31.—This evening the door bell rang sharply and, perhaps I imagined it, rather imperatively. Upon answering the bell a gentleman who identified himself as a Democratic precinct worker was found to be my visitor. He proceeded at once to call to my attention that a Negro was a candidate for judge upon the Republican ballot, and I wouldn't like to vote for a Negro. Would I? [He didn't use the word Negro when describing the Republican candidate.] I informed the gentleman, in very definite language, that I intended to vote the Republican ticket and to consider our interview ended.

11-4-44

Could this man have been representing the same Democratic party whose commander in chief has been preaching racial equality for so many years?

JAS. P. ALLEN.

Tribune

Forward With Roosevelt

World—Memphis, Tenn.

The year 1944 is a year of great decision and of destiny. The hopes and fears of a century and a half in our history will meet in this year's election, as they have met in every other election. But the nature of our times makes this year's choice a more decisive one than any we faced since 1920. We then took a course that led us and all the nations to the dreadful peril of the present. If we make a false decision again, the sure hand of fate will bring the children of our fighting men and women once again to the bloody tasks of war. The ballot we shall cast in 1944 is our vote for the kind of United States, and therefore, the kind of world we want our children and our children's children to inherit. That is why we bring ourselves, after long and serious weighing and thought, to the inescapable conclusion that Franklin D. Roosevelt must be returned to Washington another four years to finish the war and write the peace.

Mr. Roosevelt has made mistakes. He continues to make mistakes. Who has not? The late President Theodore Roosevelt once said of his administration, "if I can be right seventy-five per cent of the time, I shall come up to the fullest measure of my hopes."

9-12-44

The past twelve years in American history, in which we have experienced chronic depression, social and economic chaos and change, Negro Americans could scarcely afford to forget the great, everlasting and continous battle the president and his administration have waged in bringing about a measure of emancipation for them in every sphere of life. The story of Sylvester, an Alabama Negro farmer, who insisted upon talking by long distance to the president, pleading that he save his mules and his land, for which he had paid, except a small remaining sum, is typical of the services and benedictions all American Negroes reaped from the President and his great human sympathies. That is perphaps the greatest single asset in Mr. Roosevelt. He has a deep and abiding love for his fellowmen, despite the important fact that he was born, educated and nurtured in the best tradition of American aristocracy and wealth. The great mass of the American people, "the little people" were first to recognize this cardinal virtue in him.

Again, the President's greatest single contribution to the entire American public has been his unrelenting fight against our basic economic enemy- fear- fear of want, of old age, of unemployment and of sickness. "There is no stable society for any of us," said he, "until we all unite in banishing this basic fear from the experiences of everybody."

9-12-44

As between a Democratic president and a Republican, southern Negroes may with logic, support the former, inasmuch as the dominant political party in the South is Democratic. In that position Negroes would stand better to gain the goodwill and cooperation from southerners in things pertaining to the well-being and growth of the area, of which they form a considerable proportion to the total population.

The fitting words of Frank Kingdon posess particular significance when considering the relative merits of candidates this year. He says: "1944 is a year of destiny because it will decide whether we shall entrust our future to such a leader as Roosevelt or put into power some other man. The President has no need to rely on promises. His personal capacity and the practicality of his economic program have both been proven under the severest conditions."

9-12-44

He came into office in a world economic crisis. He has steered us through times of demagoguery and organized racial hatreds that have made many responsible people tremble for the sanity of our people. He has proved himself able to ride the whirlwind of crisis after crisis. With Roosevelt we will go forward.

Newsmen, pro-Dewey say Negro vote will go to FDR

Tribune—Los Angeles, Calif.

10-9-44

CHICAGO—Most Negro publishers and editors believe that President Roosevelt will win the vast majority of Negro votes in November.

A poll of colored newspapermen, taken by the Negro Digest, largest Negro magazine in America, revealed that regardless of their own personal convictions, 78% of the colored newspapermen predict that Negro voters will back President Roosevelt by a four-to-one margin.

The results of the poll, published in the October issue of the magazine, showed that many Negro newsmen who predicted that colored voters would support the President were members of papers which openly support Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

10-9-44

In a canvass of 50 leading editors, publishers and reporters, the Negro Digest asked: "Regardless of your own political beliefs, whom do you predict the Negro voter will support for President in November?"

The newspapermen's predictions were: President Roosevelt, 78%; Governor Dewey, 22%.

The newsmen were selected without regard for politics, but because of their standing in the publishing field and the influence of their papers upon the community.

Typical of the replies was that from E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the pro-Republican Philadelphia Tribune, who said: "Many things can happen before November to change the Negro vote, but at the present time, about 70 per cent of the Negroes in this area will definitely vote for Roosevelt."

10-9-44

P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, America's largest colored newspaper, which recently announced its support of Governor Dewey, stated: "I believe 55 per cent of the Negro vote will be cast for Roosevelt."

NEGRO OVATION CLIMAX OF G. O. P. CAMPAIGN HERE

Tribune Chicago, Ill

Gov. Green Urges Throng to Vote for Honesty.

11-6-44

A huge throng of Negro voters attended the climax of the Republican campaign in Chicago yesterday at a 2d ward rally in the 8th regiment armory, 35th st. and Giles av. Gov. Green, Richard J. Lyons, Republican nominee for senator, and most other nominees for state and county offices were present.

Gov. Green called for a "Republican vote for honest government and honest elections" which, he said, will destroy the strength of the corrupt political machines and lay the groundwork for their complete defeat in the next city election.

11-6-44

"By the voters' decision on those issues Tuesday," the governor continued, "the future of our nation will depend for at least a generation."

Republican Vote Means Jobs.

A Republican vote, the governor asserted, will indorse the American system of enterprise, make way for post-war jobs and prosperity and for establishment of a government under which business will have the confidence to invest in new job creating enterprises and maintain full employment at good wages for workers and steady markets for farm products.

Chicago, Ill

He compared a Democratic vote as indorsement of America's most extreme radical element and approval of "the confusion, bungling, and planlessness of the New Deal, which had to have a war to find jobs for the people and has only WPA and relief to offer in the post-war period."

The governor charged that the New Deal candidates "will have to clear their votes and acts with Sidney Hillman or with some other advocate of state socialism or communism." His talk was received with cheers.

Poll Tax Denounced.

"Register your protest against the poll tax which prevents your people in the south from voting in Tuesday's election," Raymond J. Peacock, Republican candidate for recorder of deeds, admonished the Negroes. He charged that Roosevelt and the New Deal prevented passage of anti-poll tax legislation and thus "made it impossible for your friends and relatives below the Mason-Dixon line to vote."

"You can vote," he told his listeners, "and, I say to you, it is your duty to vote to free your people; vote the ticket of Abraham Lincoln. Any colored person who falls short of that mark is not loyal to the cause."

Woman Assails Truman.

Miss Willa B. Brown, precinct captain, assailed Harry S. Truman's alleged former membership in the Ku Klux Klan.

"Nothing worse," she said, "could happen to the Negro than to have his fate fall into the hands of a man like Harry S. Truman."

Miss Brown, prominent Negro leader and famous aviatrix, implored the Negroes to vote for William E. King for congress "to rid yourselves of the corrupt leadership of William L. Dawson."

Other Negro rallies were held in the 3d, 5th, and 6th wards.

GET ABOARD WITH DEWEY

Globe + Independent—Nashville, Tenn.

The Republicans of Tennessee, it is plain, have as good a chance to carry the state this year as they had in 1920, which was, as is the case this year, the first time the voters got a chance to go to the polls and express themselves on war—on an administration that got elected on a promise to keep the nation out of a foreign war.

8-18-44

But if the Republicans of Tennessee expect to carry the state or even worry the Democrats enough to make them spend a considerable part of their campaign fund in this state, they will have to make a bigger noise about it than we are now hearing. This idea that has been dominant for so long in the thinking of the present aggregation of Republican leaders that making a still hunt for votes or in behaving in a way that will make discontented Democrats feel that it is "respectable" to be a Republican hasn't accomplished anything in the past and is not likely to accomplish anything this year.

Tennessee Republicans should make common cause with labor and wholeheartedly endorse the enlightened stand on labor taken in the platform adopted at Chicago. Those Republicans who enjoy trying to win a pat on the back from the National Association of Manufacturers by engaging in tirades against John L. Lewis who is an able labor leader besides being Republican, should go under ground for the duration of the campaign. It will mean far more to Republicans to have the backing of John Lewis than that of a dozen moguls of the NAM.

Tennessee Republicans need to warm up to the enlightened expressions on the rights of Negroes as contained in the party's national platform. It is true that nothing like them is in the party's state platform, but let it be realized that Thomas E. Dewey, popular alike with labor and Negroes, is the Republican candidate for the Presidency and this forward looking young leader, in trying to win a Republican victory this year, knows it cannot be won if the party goes into battle with ideas and slogans such as have led it to defeat in recent campaigns.

8-18-44

Tennessee Republicans should receive and deserve to receive the support of labor, both organized and unorganized. It should receive and deserves to receive the overwhelming support of Negro men and women. Whether or not this is to come to pass will depend upon the behavior of the state's party leaders—their whole-hearted sponsorship of progressive Republicanism as is vouchsafed in the party's national platform and even more forcefully in the life and works of Thomas E. Dewey.

Roosevelt's Credo Backs High Wages

Advertiser-Montgomery Ala

10-29-44

Full Time Job For All, Efficient Production Embraced As Policy

Slaps South Again

Demands Law Creating FEPC; No Street Corner Apple Selling Wanted

CHICAGO, Oct. 28—(AP)—President Roosevelt outlined for America tonight a 60,000,000-job postwar program and said he was giving Republican campaign orators more opportunities to say "me too."

10-29-44

"America," he said, "must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide for a decent living." Roaring midwesteners crammed into Soldier Field beside Lake Michigan—capacity 110,000—hailed his words with thundering applause. It was his fifth major campaign speech and he gave it over to an exposition of his economic views and to jabs at his fourth-term opposition.

Voicing faith in America's ability to meet the challenge of stupendous peacetime problems, Mr. Roosevelt pledged that wage, price and production controls would be lifted, and this time, he said, veterans "can grow apples on their own farms instead of having to sell them on street corners."

From a nearby railroad siding Mr. Roosevelt drove to the tremendous lake-front stadium and waited outside until a few moments before he was to speak—directly to a vast audience and by radio (NBC and Blue) to the nation.

110,000 Present

Andy Frain, chief of ushers at the stadium, estimated 110,000 persons were in the big enclosure and 150,000 others were outside.

Hatless and coatless, despite a frosty Fall night, Mr. Roosevelt battled a stiff northeast wind for possession of his manuscript—and won.

10-29-44

Applause and lusty boos greeted his "me too" crack, but they swelled into heavier volume when he picked Senator Gerald Nye (R), North Dakota, Gerald L. Smith and The Chicago Tribune for targets.

As the President rode across the green turf that has seen many a stirring football game, he heard thousands of throats declaring "we want Roosevelt"—like an organized rooting section for the favorite team.

Floodlights played on the Chief Executive from the top of impressive fluted colonnades and an electrical stars and stripes waved from the football scoreboard.

The crowd yelled lustily when Mr. Roosevelt declared men and women in the armed forces are coming back to "the best possible place on the face of the earth—to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, can live in peace, honor and human dignity—free to speak and pray as they wish—free from want—and free from fear."

10-29-44

Amplifying Bad

Something apparently was wrong with the amplifying system, and Mr. Roosevelt's voice was scarcely audible much of the time to reporters working on the stadium's playing field.

And midway in the address, people were observed making their way out of exits at the far end of the stadium.

But the mention of sixty million productive jobs brought out a heavy hand, and so did a statement a minute or two later that "never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity."

10-29-44

The promise to remove wartime controls over wages and salaries, coupled with a declaration that collective bargaining between unions and employers must determine pay adjustments, produced a resounding volley of cheers.

10-29-44

So did the mention of veterans growing apples instead of peddling them on street corners.

His Proposals

He proposed:

Congressional creation of a permanent fair employment practices committee.

A "genuine crop insurance program" for farmers and continuation of a policy of giving them a chance to own their own land—with veterans growing apples instead of selling them on street corners.

Expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority idea into similar developments for the Missouri, Arkansas, and Columbia River basins.

Special capital and credit for small business, with every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment and inventories.

10-29-44

For business large and small, encouragement of plant expansion and replacement of obsolete equipment, with the depreciation rate on new plants and facilities accelerated for tax purposes.

Amplifying his point that this is the strangest of political campaigns, Mr. Roosevelt asserted he had listened to various Republican orators urge the people to throw out the present administration and put in the Republicans. In effect, he said, they say just this:

Twits Republicans

"Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about Social Security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation—and many others—and we promise if elected not to change any of them."

"And they go on to say: 'These same quarrelsome, tired old men have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory, and if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either.

"'Therefore,' say these Republican orators, 'it is time for a change.'

10-29-44

"They also say in effect: 'Those inefficient and wornout crackpots have really begun to lay the foundation of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that either, but they whisper, we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even of Gerald Nye or Gerald Smith—and—and this is very important — we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. We will even be able to satisfy The Chicago Tribune.'"

The chief executive repeated and reindorsed an "economic bill of rights" which he first laid before Congress last January, and added:

"'To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must provide America with close to 60,000,000 productive jobs."

Government Must Aid

He proposed that government do its part in helping private enterprise finance plant expansion through normal investment channels.

10-29-44

Voicing confidence that foreign trade can be trebled after the war and provide millions of jobs, the President said that the demand for industrial and farm production must be increased not only at home but also abroad. Never again, he said must "we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity."

Mr. Roosevelt came to Chicago at the end of a day-long train trip across the prairies country of Ohio and Indiana, where he waved to potential voters and spoke briefly at Fort Wayne, Ind.

He came here to give an economic credo:

"I believe in free enterprise—and always have.

"I believe in the profit system—and always have.

"I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people."

And, he said, if any one feels his faith in America's ability to provide 60,000,000 peace-time jobs is fantastic, he should remember some people said the same thing about his 1940 demand for 50,000 airplanes.

Controls To Be Lifted

Production and price controls will be lifted, he promised, as soon as they are no longer needed, to encourage private business to produce more under conditions of free and open competition.

10-29-44

Wage and salary restrictions, he said, were necessary to prevent runaway inflation but after the war, he pledged, "we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers."

The future of America, like its past, the President declared, must be made by deeds—not words. And he emphasized what he termed the need for keeping together in peacetime a winning team made up of American business men, workers and farmers.

"We are not going to turn back the clock," he declared.

"We are going forward—and—with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen—we are going forward together."

On Harlem's First Congressman

Amsterdam News-New York, N.Y.

8-19-44

The nomination of Adam Clayton Powell by the Republican, Democratic and American labor parties two weeks ago, just about clinches his election in November. All effective resistence has been wiped out, leaving only a mopping up operation for November 7.

Powell's victory was complete and undisputable. Clearly he was the choice of the voters of the 22nd Congressional district . He has their mandate; he owes it to them to serve them well.

On Powell's going to Congress, we say now, as we said when he was elected to the City Council: "Powell will be in an excellent position to get things done. The public will be with him if he moves steadily and directly. We congratulate him on his election; also on his splendid opportunity for service."

8-19-44

The Amsterdam News will support and cooperate with Powell in Congress in any and all efforts designed to advance the cause of the race, state and nation. We sincerely wish him well. — JULIUS J. ADAMS, Amsterdam News.

52a-1944

Candidates---Georgia

Calhoun Denies He Is Out of Georgia Congress Race

Journal + Guide
Norfolk, Va.
6-17-44

ATLANTA, Ga.—(ANP)—Contending that his candidacy hinged on which group of Georgia's Republicans is seated at the Chicago convention on June 26, John H. Calhoun Jr., Wednesday denied that he was out of the race to unseat Congressman Robert R. Ramspeck (D) of Georgia's fifth district.

The denial came in the face of published reports that Calhoun's candidacy died a quiet death after delegates to the Fifth District Republican convention failed to nominate him as their candidate.

Conceding that his race was in jeopardy, Calhoun asserted that he has sided with the faction headed by Wilson Williams, national committeeman, and B. J. Davis Sr., as opposed to the "lily-whites" led by Clint W. Hagar, former U. S. district attorney.

If the Williams-Davis delegates are seated, then the state central committee elected by that group at its state convention last month will be approved by the Republican National committee, with Williams continuing as Georgia's committeeman. Under the new rules, he explained, all nominations must be approved by the state central committee which meets for this purpose after the national convention.

6-17-44

If the Hagar faction is seated Mr. Calhoun, expressing doubt that this would occur, admitted that his candidacy would be nullified. T. M. Alexander, manager for Mr. Calhoun, expressed confidence that the Williams-Davis faction would win in Chicago and that Calhoun's nomination would be approved.

52a-1944 Candidates -- Illinois

The NAACP and Danger Signals in Washington

WASHINGTON SCENE

By Edgar Brown

Tribune — Washington, D.C.

(The opinions expressed by this columnist do not necessarily reflect the editorial opinion of the Washington Tribune.—The Editor.)

4-22-44

I ran and won a moral victory for the 16,000 voters in the Republican race for Congress April 11, in Chicago. These stalwart men and women voters braved one of the worst windstorms and rains to do their sacred duty. It was history making for the 2nd Congressional District with 600,000 people, most of them on the other side upholding restrictive covenants against Americans of color.

The other candidates divided the vote in such a way, I ran second and only a few thousand behind the successful nominee, one of those who was first to wire his sympathy after the attack upon me on the Capitol steps.

When I say it was close to a successful campaign I mean in respects to unity of action. The church people, the newspapers, the business and insurance leaders and the common people stood up and cast their ballots right.

There was only one so-called "Big Shot," traitorous politician who has held many honors at the gift of voters who turned turtle. He went out of his way as a ward boss to wield a wicked double cross, stabbing us in the back at the last minute. With marked ballots he fought against another colored man going to Congress in an effort to sabotage the fight for justice and equal right, now.

4-22-44

He failed and got less votes than I did in his own ward because of the people's resentment and race loyalty. They were intent on making the home a safe place for 13,000,000 colored Americans and for bettering the lot of a million colored soldiers and sailors suffering from discrimination, segregation, and mistreatment in the uniform of their country, while awaiting the supreme sacrifice if need be for democracy and freedom in all parts of the globe.

In nearly every precinct, the vote was as high as five to one for me except where this old political hack and his paid hirelings held forth. Fortunately they were soundly repudiated by the alert and active door to door campaigners who told the people the truth, as the final count revealed.

4-22-44

EDUCATION FOR VOTERS

No one can go through an intensive election campaign without being shocked at the lack of real understanding of the fullest and proper use of the ballot and what to do about it by voters of long standing. Not more than half of those who register and qualify to vote and then take the time to go to the polls actually make the most of this important and sacred task of every good citizen, by correctly marking their ballots in the best choice possible in the primary election. It is the all important matter to finally vote for the party candidates for Federal, State, County and Municipal offices in the general election. The winning candidate of the 2nd Congressional District won the nomination with 25,000 votes.

Get this fact: There are 37,000 registered colored voters in the third ward of this 2nd Congressional District in Chicago absolutely controlled or responsive to colored elected officials, in charge of the election machinery and appointments. There are three other wards with 50,000 colored voters in this same 2nd Congressional District. Yet a candidate won with only 25,000 votes in the G.O.P. column.

4-22-44

Only about 40,000 Republicans actually voted in the election of last week, though 90,000 were eligible. There were 20 colored candidates running on the Republican ticket for every office including Congress, judge, sanitary district trustee, with its yearly budget of 50 million, controlling all the drinking water of 4,000,000 people in Chicago. There were 10 members of the legislature, to be elected and a number of other public offices, for which colored candidates were on the ticket.

HAD TO PAY NO POLL TAX

But the people stayed at home and failed to vote. Less than half or about 10,000 of the 37,000 qualified and registered voters in one of the three colored wards, who had to pay no poll tax, but just walk a half a block to the polling place. After these few did get to the voting booth and got a ballot and retired behind the closed curtain and with their conscience and God as a witness still failed or forgot to mark for the colored candidates for any office because they were confused or misled. This was true of nearly half of those who did go to the polls on Primary Day.

4-22-44

Often they voted for candidates and let it go at that whom they had never seen or heard of in their lives. It is the only reason machine politicians and paid job holders who hand them a marked ballot can win primary elections and get the slate of "Yes" men over and subsequently elect them in the final run off.

What will happen if the anti-poll tax legislation is passed and 10,000,000 in the South given the ballot box right, if in Chicago these all Americans have voted for 50 years make such a sorry-mess of it?

52a-1944

Candidates -- West Virginia

1 in W. Va. Run For Legislature

WHEELING, W. Va., (ANP)—Eleven West Virginia Negroes seek election to the house of delegates of West Virginia in the primaries on May 9. Six are Democrats and five are Republicans. One is a woman.

The Democrats include the following: Rev. T. L. Thornhill of Beckley, Atty. Fleming A. Jones, of Welch; E. L. James and Atty. C. B. Kimbrough of Charleston; Rev. T. C. Glashen of Beckley, and Ned Slaughter.

The Republicans are Mrs. Rosa Davis of Red Star; H. W. Dandridge of Beckley; Atty. J. M. Ellis of Oak Hill; Atty. T. G. Nutter of Charleston, and Atty. J. G. Travis of Welch.

Negro Voters Couldn't Be Tricked by GOP

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

By EUGENE GORDON 11-8-44

The Negro people, in yesterday's voting, showed conclusively that they stand with the majority of our citizens for the welfare of their country. They showed that there "Negro" bloc, as opposed to a "white" bloc. They showed that they recognize their fate rests in the fate of their fellow Americans.

The Negro people yesterday, in voting overwhelmingly for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, took action in determining the state of this nation for at least four years. 11-8-44

The Negro voter's ballot undoubtedly turned the balance in a number of important states—particularly in industralized centers. The trend for several years has indicated support for Roosevelt among Negro, as among white, industrial workers. This fact further proves that the Negro and the white workers possessed an identity of basic interests and that the Negro realized this fact. Daily Worker

GOP FAILED New York N.Y.

That was why the Republican National Committee, with all its long-range "cleverness" and its last-minute tricks, could not demoralize the Negro voter. The Republicans felt sure they could cause wholesale desertion of Roosevelt by inserting in their platform a plank touching upon the Negro's main grievances.

That demagogy did not work, either, even with those who had most reason for bitterness. For even these realized, after a little reflection, that Republican promises—especially when backed by a Dewey—could not begin to compare with Roosevelt reality. New York N.Y.

The majority of the Negro voters indicated long before election that they would cast their ballots for Roosevelt. Why? Not because his program particularly favored the Negro, but that it basically favored the masses of the American people. Negro men and women questioned on the street said they wished Mr. Roosevelt reelected because "he" gave them social security, old-age benefits, "decent" housing, food rationing ("so the poor as well as the rich could eat" during the war).

The Negro people did not reach this political maturity suddenly yesterday. It happens that the Roosevelt administration for the first time since the Reconstruction, provided a social atmosphere conducive to healthful maturing. 11-8-44

Newspapermen Who Supported Dewey Comment

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga

11-17-44

Future Parties Will Be Labor And Conservative

BY HARRY McALPIN

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) —A belief that the vote in the presidential election forecasts a new alignment, with labor a real factor, and with Negroes aligned with labor; pledges of wholehearted and unqualified support of the President; and acceptance of the will of the majority were attitudes expressed by the publishers of five of the leading weekly papers which supported Thomas E Dewey in the recent campaign, according to statements made to the NNPA this week.

11-17-44

W. O. Walker, of the Cleveland Call-Post, declared: "The American people by their vote last Tuesday laid the foundation for a new political alignment. Labor has emerged as a real factor. Our political parties of the future will be labor and conservative. The Negro in that election aligned himself with labor."

NOT HIS CANDIDATE

Ira F. Lewis, president of the Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company said: "There can be no appeal to the verdict of the American people as evidenced by their majority vote for the Franklin D. Roosevelt to be president of the United States for the next four years. Mr. Roosevelt was not my candidate. But he is my president. In a country founded and based on the idea that the will of the majority shall prevail, there is nothing for any good American to do but to wholeheartedly support the president.

C. B. Powell, publisher of the Amsterdam Star News and assistant publicity director of the Republican National Committee, said: "The people of America have spoken in this presidential election and all good Americans will obey their mandate by wholeheartedly supporting the President for a successful and speedy termination of the war and permanent peace. It was a pleasure to have worked in this present campaign. For the first time in national elections, the jim-crow set-up has been tabooed in both major parties and the Negro has played his part with intelligence, dignity and determination with the result that the wheels for economic, political and social gains for the Negro people are already set into motion." 11-17-44

WANTED BY MAJORITY

E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the Philadelphia Tribune, declared: "Roosevelt's victory proves that the majority of voters believe that he is the best person to guide the ship of state during these perilous times. With the working majority in both houses of Congress, the President has the duty and the responsibility to abolish second class citizenship. This is the second only to the winning of the war. Those who are sincere in this belief will work for and with him when he proves faithful and against him when he fails to act fearlessly to end discrimination in America."

Carl Murphy of the Afro-American Newspapers said: "Dewey made an A-1 campaign. Too many voters believe F. D. R. indispensable to win the war."

11-17-44

No statements were received from C. A. Franklin, publisher of the Kansas City Call, nor from N. A. Sweets, publisher of the St. Louis American, both of which supported Dewey.

Roosevelt Sweeps Negro Vote By Record Margin

Chicago Illinois

11-18-44

11-18-44

By FRED ATWATER

Rolling up record majorities in every colored community in the nation, President Roosevelt won re-election this week with an amazing display of polling strength among Negro voters.

From coast to coast, every big Negro population center went down the line for the President by the biggest margins ever given Roosevelt in his four times as a candidate for the White House.

Negro support contributed largely to President Roosevelt's reelection, the CIO Political Action committee declared. The Detroit News attributed the Roosevelt victory to the support of Negroes and other minorities.

Aided in Key States

"In such key Eastern states as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland, Negro votes proved an important factor. It was in the industrial centers of these states that Roosevelt, strongly supported by Negro and CIO groups, rolled up the huge majorities that enabled him to carry the states," the PAC said.

Traditional Republican strongholds in Chicago, Baltimore and Kansas City voted for the first time for Roosevelt.

In New York the President won a sensational lead, exceeding the most optimistic straw polls. He garnered some 79 per cent of the total ballots cast in Harlem.

Even in upstate New York, where the Republicans are traditionally strong, Negro and CIO groups gave Roosevelt wide margins in Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester, Albany and other industrial centers. This offset the Republican vote in the small towns and rural areas. The Buffalo 5th ward, key Negro district, went:

Roosevelt	6,557
Dewey	2,964

Big Pa. Majority

Pittsburgh and Philadelphia Negro votes helped put the state of Pennsylvania in the Democratic column by delivering big blocs of ballots to President Roosevelt.

On the West Coast where the Negro population has grown tremendously the margin for Roosevelt was also huge. In Los Angeles and San Francisco the vast majority of Negro migrants from the South cast their votes for the first time and in every case went down the line for the President.

The same was true in the big industrial center of Detroit, which has also had a big growth in population with most of the newcomers coming from the Deep South to take war jobs.

The President carried New Jersey mainly on the strength of war ballots and the Negro vote in four large centers, Newark, Trenton, Camden and Atlantic City. The Newark margin in Negro wards of approximately 3-1 ran:

Roosevelt	16,141
Dewey	5,702

In three Trenton wards with large Negro populaces, Roosevelt won by 5,100 to Dewey's 1,490. The FDR victories in Camden and Atlantic City Negro districts were by votes of 3,675 to 543 and 3,374 to 1,192 respectively.

Wins 2nd Ward

The second ward in Chicago which was barely won by Roosevelt in 1940 with 51 per cent of the vote, gave Roosevelt a record-breaking 62.7 per cent of the total this time. In 1932 and 1936 the ward was Republican. Complete figures for Chicago's Negro vote were:

2nd Ward	
Roosevelt	28,663
Dewey	17,061
3rd Ward	
Roosevelt	23,692
Dewey	12,201

Roosevelt had 65.9 per cent of the 3rd ward total.

For the first time since becoming a Negro residential area, Chicago's 2nd Ward went Democratic in a local election when Congressman William L. Dawson was given a large plurality in the ward, over the Republican candidate, William E. King.

Figures for the 2nd ward congressional vote were:

Dawson	25,578
King	17,669

No Democratic Congressional candidate had ever carried the 2nd ward in any previous election, nor had even the successful Republican candidates ever been given such a great plurality, the 2nd ward voting record revealed.

Shattering the Republican tradition of the wealthy Chicago suburb of Evanston, the Negro 5th Ward gave its votes to President Roosevelt by a narrow margin of 2,202 to 2,045.

Alderman Edwin B. Jourdain's 5th Ward was the only Evanston ward carried by the President, although two precincts in the 4th Ward feel into his column, establishing an all-time high for Evanston votes cast for a Democratic presidential candidate.

The tremendous margin of victory for Roosevelt was hailed by re-elected Congressman William L. Dawson as a "symbol of the growing unity of all Americans—Negro and white—behind the liberal principles for which Roosevelt stands."

"Negro Americans of all political parties forgot party lines and came to the support of President Roosevelt in every section of the country," declared Rep. Dawson. "I am proud of the record of my people in support of the President."

"This has been a hard-fought campaign. It is over and now is the time for Negro leadership—Republican and Democratic alike—to join together in the common struggle for full citizenship for the Negro people.

"Finally, to loyal Negro Democratic workers everywhere I express my earnest appreciation for their yeoman service."

By VENICE SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The Negro vote, viewed in the light of last week's presidential election, looms as a potent factor with which to be reckoned in the 1948 elections, experienced political observers here believe. 11-18-44

The significance of this vote in pivotal states has formed the basis for wide-spread discussions by both Democrats and Republicans.

Commenting on the issue, Judge William H. Hastie, dean of Howard University law school and member of the National Citizen's Political Action committee said:

"The most interesting thing to me in the elections was the extreme closeness of the vote in the majority of states with a large Negro electorate. This is an indication that the party which gets the Negro vote in 1948 is the party that will be elected."

Key To Maryland

In Baltimore, Maryland, where there was considerable pre-election doubt as to which way the tide would turn, Loyal Randolph, state chairman of the Colored division of the Democratic committee for Maryland, said, "There is no doubt that the combined Negro and labor vote swung President Roosevelt into the winning column." The Negro vote alone gave the president a total vote of more than 36,000.

"In Philadelphia where the President enjoyed a majority of approximately 131,000 votes, upward of 70,000 can be counted as Negro votes," Austin Norris, titular head of Negro Democrats in Philadelphia said.

While sharing generally the views of the Democrats, Perry Howard, prominent Washington attorney and Republican committeeman from Mississippi, held: "You can't beat Santa Claus and a world war."

The election, Howard said, was "carried by the colored voters and when you consider the margin in the pivotal states you readily see that this is true." He expressed great confidence that following the present term the "Lord and the Republican party will take over."

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, said that the reelection of President Roosevelt was a "clear mandate of the people's faith in a great courageous and humanitarian leader." Negro Americans, she said rejoice to have shared in this "vindication of his unparalled leadership."

John H. Sengstacke, chairman of the National Non-Partisan League, issued a statement after the Roosevelt victory, which said: "This campaign has demonstrated how liberal and progressive forces working together in unison can help make democracy work. It is gratifying to know that Negroes throughout America have rallied so courageously to the cause of President Roosevelt. All records show that the Negroes voted overwhelmingly to return to office an administration which promises to continue its work of guaranteeing to America a future based upon concluding the war, making a lasting peace and providing a job structure without discrimination." 11-18-44

Judge W. C. Hueston, educational director of the Elks, a former judge in Gary, Ind., and a Republican campaigner, said: "I can find no fault with Mr. Roosevelt. The only fault I could find, as I said during the campaign, was with the crowd he was operating with from the South. I was not certain whether he could overcome those who were operating with him. He was retarded from doing what he might have done because of the committee chairmanships of the bourbons from the South. Mr. Roosevelt is all right, and it does not disturb me at all that he is President."

Alexander Barnes, promotion manager of the Washington Tribune and active in the Dewey campaign, stated: Dr. Powell and Justice Rivers succeeded in electing Mr. Roosevelt with the Negro vote." Barnes had previously issued a blast at the manner in which the Republican campaign had been conducted by Dr. C. B. Powell, assistant chairman of publicity for the Republican National Committee, and Judge Francis Rivers, whom Barnes described as the real policy-head on Negro matters in the Dewey campaign.

National Negro Vote Crossed Lines for FDR

People's Voice — New York, N.Y

11-18-44

CHICAGO—The Negro in America voted overwhelmingingly for Roosevelt, a national survey just completed by the Associated Negro Press here reveals, as the political picture for the entire country is being pieced together. Two oustanding facts featured the Presidential election of 1944 — the Negro vote went to Roosevelt by 50% to 90%; the Negro vote crossed party lines, as many Negro Republicans deserted Dewey for FDR. Political analysts called the national vote "a personal vote" for Roosevelt, and not necessarily a vote for the Democratic party.

Surveying the scene from Washington, Ernie Johnson, ANP bureau chief for that city, considers Roosevelt obligated to the Negro voter. Johnson eyes the possible passage of a permanent FEPC, abolition of poll taxes, end to jimcro in the armed forces. He feels that pressure will be heavy for correction of these three sore points.

Johnson also discovers that "Another significant result of this election has been the degree to which Negroes and the labor movement have blended and identified their respective interests." The writer stresses the coalition between Negro votes and CIO political activities, calling it a "natural coalition," but one only recently effected. Condensing the national political news as assembled by ANP we find:

529

KANSAS CITIANS SUPPORT ROOSEVELT

11-18-44

KANSAS CITY (ANP)—In spite of the Ku Klux Klan smear on Sen. Harry S. Truman in the last days of the campaign, Negro voters went to the polls Tuesday and voted 2 to 1 for the Roosevelt-Truman ticket. Three wards which are predominantly Negro gave Roosevelt 15,776 votes to 8,756 for Dewey.

Only one Negro candidate was on the ticket in Kansas City, and he lost. He was James H. Herbert, Republican candidate for the state legislature from the 4th district. He was defeated by Thomas J. Gill, white Democrat supported by the 15th st faction of the Democratic machine.

In Kansas City, Kas., William H. Towers, member of the Kansas state legislature for eight years, was reelected, defeating Dr. W. W. Andrews, Negro physician, 1,151 to 775.

11-18-44

NEGROES VOTE IN NEW ORLEANS

NEW ORLEANS (ANP)—Spurred by a series of public mass meetings, thousands turned out to vote for their choice of President Tuesday. According to investigations, Negroes were accorded courtesy at all the polling places here.

The heaviest Negro voting was reported in the 7th, 10th, 11th and 12th wards, with the Negro Republicans showing their greatest strength in the 7th ward.

Voting machines were reported to be in good order and no instance has been reported where a Negro was not given help and information at the polls.

ST. LOUIS DEMOCRATIC

ST. LOUIS (ANP)—For the first time in history, voters in the Sixth ward, where the bulk of Negroes reside, voted overwhelmingly Democratic in the presidential election last Tuesday. 11-18-44

Ellis A. Outlaw, prominent lawyer and Lawrence Pierre, music teacher, Republican candidates for representative in the Third and Fourth districts, respectively were defeated by white opponents.

There were no Negro candidates on the Democratic ticket in the general election.

In the five city wards with the largest Negro electorates: Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth, vote for Roosevelt was 29,592; for Dewey 18,333, about 3 to 2.

Mayor A. P. Kaufmann was the only Republican candidate who carried the Negro wards.

CLEVELAND CANDIDATES LOSE

CLEVELAND (ANP)—Flooded by the tidal wave of votes cast in Cleveland for Democratic Mayor Frank Lausche, governor-elect, and President Roosevelt, four Republican candidates, only Negroes on the ballot in the present election, were defeated by a more than 2 to 1 majority.

11-18-44

The candidates were Harry E. Davis, one of four contestants for county commissioner (two to be elected); State Rep. Candidates Frank C. Lyons and William B. Saunders (18 to be elected), Chester K. Gillespie, for state Senator (six to be elected).

NEW JERSEY FOR F.D.R.

NEWARK (ANP)—In Newark and Essex county the Negro vote was 2 to 1 in favor of F.D.R. In Camden and Atlantic County things were about even. But in Hudson county, Passaic and Bergen counties, Negroes went all out for F.D.R.

The only Negro on the ballot was Dr. J. O. Hill, incumbent member of the N. J. Assembly (Rep.). He came through with flying colors.

WHITE DEMOCRATS "STOLE" VOTES

11-18-44

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP)—Charges that election judges on orders of the white Democratic party "stole" votes that legally belonged to Osceola McKaine, first Negro to run for U. S. Senate seat on a Democratic ticket, were made here Wednesday by John H. McCray, state chairman of the Progressive Democratic party, on whose ticket McKaine ran in opposition to Gov. Olin D. Johnston.

The reports, he said, came from several counties indicating that no ballots of the Progressive Democratic party were available at countless polling places and of instances where election workers refused to permit citizens to vote any ticket other than the so-called "regular" Democratic ticket headed by Gov. Johnston.

COAST ELATED OVER ELECTION

LOS ANGELES (ANP)—Negro coast citizens rejoiced over the election returns. Especially happy was the colored sector of the Democratic county central committee of the 62nd assembly district, for it was at headquarters that such prominent colored leaders as Revels Cayton, Clarence Muse and Rex Ingram, motion picture stars, mingled with other well-known citizens as they listened to the returns.

11-18-44

The race between Helen Gahagan Douglas and William D. Campbell for Congress from the 14th district was carefully watched. It was recalled that the winner, Mrs. Douglas, a movie star and wife of cinema star Melvyn Douglas, distinguished herself some time ago in her fight for tenant farmers in the south.

Another victory which pleased the citizens was that of Republican Gordon L. McDonough, who defeated Hal Styles, Democratic nominee and alleged ex-Ku Klux Klansman, by a 20,000 plurality. McDonough will succeed Congressman John M. Costello, Democrat, who was defeated for renomination by Styles.

DEMOCRAT CALLED TO SPEAK

ATLANTA (ANP)—Hailed as a sign of the Democratic party's interest in the effort of Georgia's Negro Democrats to align themselves with the regular party organization, was the selection of Atty. A. T. Walden, president of the newly formed Association of Democratic clubs of Georgia, to speak in Missouri for the Roosevelt-Truman ticket.

ouston Negroes Organize

Informer — Housten, Texas

recinct; Elect White Delegate

7-29-44

OUSTON — After the voting was closed at Precinct 25, Holman, Edwin S. Harrison, president of the Third Ward Civic Club and financial secretary of Local 2457, explained to the 60 or more voters who came to help organize the precinct that only organized precincts are entitled to seated representatives in the county, state and national conventions. He stated that in order to have a representative from Precinct 25 in the Harris County convention which will be held in Houston, July 29, the precient must organize and elect representatives.

7-29-44

Officers Elected

Mr. Harrison was elected temporary chairman of the convention, Miss Marie Fonsworth, assistant to the President of the Dallas Express and New Orleans Informer Sentinel, was elected secretary, and Miss Lottie Wallis, election judge for Precinct 25, was elected delegate to the Harris County Convention.

7-29-44

Entitled to One Delegate

Due to the previous inability of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary, voting has heretofore been very light at Precinct 25, hence the precinct is entitled to only one delegate and seven votes.

Mr. Harrison explained that the precinct elects voters to attend the County convention, and the county convention elects delegates to the state convention which meets in September, and that convention names electors to the national convention which is held in November. It is in the national convention that the President of the United States is actually elected.

Miss Fonsworth read the following resolution which the members of the convention adopted:

RESOLUTION

7-29-44

Resolved that we, the democrats of Precinct No. 25 in convention assembled, heartily endorse the National Democratic Administration, and especially our great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who led us out of the depths of the depression, who repeatedly warned us against the threat of the Axis powers, whose broad humanitarianism has caused him to lead the fight for the betterment of the average man, and whose superb leadership has furthered more than any other thing the victorious march of the United Nations on the battlefront and the production front.

7-29-44

Democracy has spoken! By overwhelming majority, the National Democratic Convention has nominated the candidates of the party for President and Vice-President. We pledge our unqualified support to these nominees and we demand that the Democratic State Convention in September select nominees for Presidential electors who will pledge themselves to cast the vote of this State in the Electorial College for the nominees of our Party for President and Vice President.

52a-1944

Elections

Friend of Race Loses in Congress Race; Others Win

Afro-American, Balt. Md.

11-18-44 11-18-44

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Congressional races last week resulted in one important casualty among those who have distinguished themselves on matters of primary importance to colored people, but saw others returned by goodly majorities, a survey made by ANP reveals.

52a

The lone casualty was Rep. Thomas E. Scanlon (D) of Pittsburgh. He is a co-sponsor of the bill to establish a permanent FEPC, and already has spoken several times in its behalf. He will be succeeded by Samuel K. McConnell, Republican.

52a

Among those re-elected were Mrs. Frances Bolton (R) and George Bender (R), both of Ohio; Vito Marcantonio (ALP) and Joseph C. Baldwin (R) of New York; Charles M. LaFollette (R) of Indiana, Mary T. Norton (D) of New Jersey and William A. Rowan (D) of Illinois.

What They Have Done

Mrs. Bolton has fought for anti-poll tax legislation and for colored nurses in the armed forces. Bender led the floor fight and discharge petition drive on the poll tax bill also, with the aid and co-sponsorship of Marcantonio and Baldwin.

LaFollette and Mrs. Norton have been active in support of a permanent FEPC, the latter as chairman of the House Labor Committee. Rowan has been sponsoring an equal rights bill for the District of Columbia.

Rep. John Taber (R) of New York and Richard Wigglesworth (R) of Massachusetts, both knife wielders on the powerful House Appropriations Committee, who may be expected to be in there cutting funds for colored housing and opposing funds for FEPC, and John Rankin of Mississippi, were all re-elected.

52a-1944

The New Congress

Daily Worker

THERE were not many bold enough to brand as bunk the pre-election insistence of the GOP prophets and "impartial observers" that the next Congress would inevitably be dominated by Republicans.

The people, however, were not impressed by that insistence. Not only did they give their resounding approval to the President's policies by reelecting him Tuesday, but they also chose a Congress which is far more likely to cooperate in putting through those policies than the current legislative body.

New York, N.Y.

On party lines, the Democrats have gained about 30 seats in the House. This is the largest single shift in favor of the Administration since 1934. The Senate line-up appears to be unchanged despite the almost unchallenged claims that the GOP would gain from five to 10 seats.

But the party lineups are only a small part of the story. Within both parties those who back the program of international unity in the field of foreign policy and who hold a more liberal attitude toward domestic problems have gained in strength.

The process, begun in the primaries of eliminating from our highest legislative body the feudal-minded reactionaries and the defeatists, was continued by the people in the general elections. To Sens. Robert Rice Reynolds, D. Worth Clark, Rufus Holman, and "Cotton Ed" Smith were added Gerald P. Nye, John A. Danaher and probably James J. Davis. To Representatives Martin Dies, Joe Starnes, John M. Costello, were added Ham Fish, Stephen Day, Fred Busbey and others. 11-10-44

Positive Gains

On the positive side, several staunch backers of the President's policies, particularly on international problems, were added to Congress. The new Senate will have as members J. W. Fulbright (D) or Arkansas, Glenn H. Taylor (D) of Idaho, Leverett Saltonstall (R) of Massachusetts, Wayne Morse (R) of Oregon, Warren Magnuson (D) of Washington, as well as all of the Administration stalwarts up for reelection.

The House, too, will include new, vigorous, progressive figures who will take no back seat in the fight for the Administration program, men like Ellis Patterson of California and Hugh DeLacy of Washington; women like Helen Gahagan Douglas of California and Emily Taft Douglas of Illinois. Besides, fighting Congressmen like Vito Marcantonio of New York and John M. Coffee of Washington will be back at the old stand.

Negro Members

Daily Worker

A special note must be made of the election of the outstanding Negro leader, Adam Clayton Powell of New York, and of the reelection of Rep. William A. Dawson of Illinois, only Negro member of the present House. It is a sign of the times, and a portent for the future, that for the first time in over half a century the House of Representatives will have more than a single Negro member.

New York, N.Y.

Elections

The people made their choice with a fine discrimination that indicated that the issues that moved them to score one victory after another during the primaries was carried over, in a nonpartisan spirit, into the elections. For instance, Massachusetts elected a Democratic state administration but sent Republican Gov. Saltonstall to the Senate because of his known views on world unity.

The results show also that the people did not cast their votes to FDR solely because he is needed to conduct the war, but consciously gave their endorsement to the specific policies which Congress will have to act upon before they can be executed. They show, too, that the people spurned the fraudulent Dewey plea that they elect a President to suit Congress. They decided, instead, to choose a Congress to suit the program that FDR represents.

11-10-44

Yet all is not by any means won. Should the same reactionary GOP-tory Democratic coalition that proved so damaging in the current Congress reconstitute itself in the 79th Congress, we will still have a bitter fight before us to defeat it.

The 78th Congress, moreover, is not yet finished. Next week it goes back into session to tackle vital problems of international relations and reconversion.

Much of the gains made in Tuesday's elections were made possible through the activity of labor in bringing the issues before the people and rallying them behind the President's program. That activity, stimulated in the campaign, should be continued, in close unity with other sections of the population, to see that these problems are solved in the spirit of the election results by the present Congress, and that the promise of the new Congress is realized.

Pepper And Hill

Courier – Pittsburgh, Pa.

There is potent significance for all Americans in the re-nomination (re-election) of Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Lister Hill of Alabama. The re-nominations are being variously interpreted. Those who look for political meanings differ. Democratic friends of the Administration say that the re-nominations indicate endorsement of the fourth term by Alabama and Florida Democrats. Republican foes of the Administration say that the size of the vote against both Pepper and Hill indicates strong opposition to a fourth term and a possible break in the solid ranks of the Democratic party of the South. It seems to us that both these explanations are superficial and expedient. There is more to the re-nominations than the reflection of fourth-term sentiment.

5-13-44

The basic, pervading issue in both primary campaigns was that of race and progress. Senators Pepper and Hill had attempted to lift their sights above the narrow, regressive confines of Southern provincialism. They had identified themselves with what is known as the liberal element in national life. They had made no direct overtures to Negroes, nor had they had any direct dealing with them. But a true liberal program sustains and supports the democratic ideal in theory and in practice and, although there is not much of such a problem in this country, Senators Pepper and Hill showed that they were not too much averse to it. Of course, the democratic ideal must comprehend fair treatment for all Americans, black as well as white. The reactionaries know this. Thus, when Senators Pepper and Hill indicated that they subscribed to what Gunnar Myrdal has described as the American Creed, their foes were able to charge that in loving it, they loved Negroes.

We do not know whether either Senator Pepper or Senator Hill regards Negroes as equal Americans. We only know that political elements in their States made the charge that they do and attempted to defeat them because of it. They failed. They failed after an extraordinarily scurrilous and strenuous campaign.

Therefore, we believe this: that it has been shown in the campaign against Pepper, in the campaign against Hill and in the campaign waged by Talmadge of Georgia against Arnall that Southern white voters are not reacting in all sections to indications of racial hate in the manner they did a generation ago. Southern politicians are learning that the race issue is no longer a short cut to political office. In other years, many of these politicians have confessed that they were not personally bitter against Negroes, as their public expressions indicated, but they had to say certain things to be elected. Now they ought to begin to sense that saying those things will defeat, rather than elect, them. 5-13-44

In other words, the race-baiting politicians in the South are not speaking for all the people, the white people, of the South. Georgia, Florida and Alabama have shown that they have citizens who know that there are more important issues than race, and more necessary qualifications than race hatred. This growing maturity and escape from fear by white Southerners is a hopeful augury for the future of the South, the Nation and the Negro. Once the political race haters in all the Southern States can be securely entombed, the South has a chance to win to a political leadership that will help it catch up with other sections of the Nation, the Nation will be re-delivered of a beggared region, and the Negro will have a chance to help rebuild the new South.

The re-nomination of Pepper and Hill should warn the race haters that their ranks are being riddled.

'White Supremacy' Bloc

PM – N.Y., N.Y.

Dear Editor:

A significant fact about Mr. Roosevelt's fourth victory in a row is that in every election he could have given the electoral votes of the 11 states of the Solid South to his opponent and still won in the Electoral College. This means there is absolutely no reason for any appeasement by President Roosevelt of the Southern "white supremacy" bloc as far as concerns legislation desired by Negro voters, who have stuck to him faithfully all through four elections. He has already declared himself in favor of the bill for a permanent FEPC. He can and should come out for the Federal anti-lynching bill and the bill abolishing the poll tax as a requirement for the right to vote in Federal elections. He should enforce more vigorously his order abolishing segregation in the services provided for the men in the Army camps and begin the abolition of segregation in the armed forces. All this he owes alike to justice and

11-13-44

to his supporters among the Negro voters.

New York, N.Y.

New York **Consuelo C. Young,** *Publicity and Promotion, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.*

11-12-44

The South Comes Through

News Birmingham Ala.

The South stood staunch in its support of the Democratic ticket, in spite of an improved Republican showing in some quarters. The Texas revolt, the Mississippi rebellion, the South Carolina squawk—these and other similar movements faded out like the idle wind which we respect not. And this happened not merely because of a traditional loyalty to the Democratic party, but for other reasons which should be taken into account. Whatever significance attaches to racial problems in this region, the fact remains that here as elsewhere in the country the New Deal, or to put it more exactly, the progressive ideal, figures more tellingly than some of our politicians and wiseacres seem to have realized.

One hears talk about the desirability of another party in the Southern scheme of things. For the sake of the benefits which flow from political competition, one can envisage the rise of Republicanism in this section without serious misgivings. But when this possibility is urged as a sure way of impressing Southern demands upon the Democratic party, it must be pointed out that the returns of Tuesday's election provide little support for such an argument. At this writing, it seems possible that Mr. Roosevelt might have been elected without a single Southern electoral vote. Let professional Southerners put that in their pipes. 11-9-44 News

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'Race Issue' Is Loser In Dixie

Courier—Pittsburgh, Pa.

Consternation and confusion mark the plight of Southern "white Democrats" as the results of the Florida and Alabama primaries, May 2, the first since the epoch-making Supreme court decision against the Texas white primary became known.

Although both States barred Negroes from the polls in some sections, nevertheless Alabama voters repudiated Rep. Joe Starnes, noted for his anti-Negro bias, and both Alabama and Florida returned liberal New Dealers, Senator Lister Hill and Claude Pepper, to Congress. Suits are already in preparation in both States against officials who barred Negroes from the Democratic polls. 5-13-44

NEGRO VOTE STRONG IN NORTHERN ALABAMA

In Alabama, Negroes voted in great strength in the northern cities of Birmingham, Sheffield, Tuscumbia and Florence. In Montgomery, however, only two Negroes managed to cast Democratic ballots, while in Mobile refusal of the ballot was general, one official even stretching his arms across the entrance of the polling place when a group of 15 appeared to exercise their right to vote.

The situation in Florida was even worse. The only Negroes recorded as voting the Democratic ticket were eight teachers from the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical college in Tallahassee. In the same city Negroes were barred from another polling place. In both States individuals and NAACP branches are preparing court action against the officials who barred them. 5-13-44

SOUTHERN VOTERS TIRE OF RACE-BAITING TACTICS

In spite of the undemocratic practices at the polling places, the election results indicate that Southern voters are tired of race-baiting representatives in Congress. Representative Joe Starnes, of Alabama, member of the Dies committee, the avowed foe of liberal labor legislation and a leader of the House anti-Negro bloc, suffered a crushing defeat. On the other hand, Senator Lister Hill, Democratic "whip" of the Senate and a liberal New Dealer, easily won out over his opponent, James Simpson, who had based his fight on "white supremacy."

In Florida, Senator Claude Pepper, administration stalwart and one of the few Southern opponents of the poll tax, defeated clearly five candidates who made issue of the Senator's support of liberal legislation in Congress.

PREPARATION GOES AHEAD IN OTHER SOUTHERN STATES

Other Southern States are making steady progress, in the meanwhile, in preparation for primary elections to come. In Atlanta, an estimated 20,000 are expected to register for the July 4 election. Negroes are reported as flocking to the courthouse in larger number than whites to get their names on the registration books. 5-13-44

In Arkansas and Texas, Progressive Voters' leagues have been formed to examine the stands of candidates on significant issues and to keep the voters informed. In Texas, where the challenge of militant Negroes resulted in the present right to vote, three anti-Negro legislators are slated for defeat by the Negro vote. They include Senator Tom Connally, whose years in Congress have been devoted to defeat of any legislation beneficial to Negroes; Rep. Martin Dies, chairman of the famed Dies committee, and Rep. Hatton Sumners, chairman of the House Judiciary committee.

Nation Article Claims Negroes Elected FDR

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

Atlanta, Ga.

CHICAGO—(A N P) — As the Democratic south hurriedly gathered its forces to wage a bitter struggle in the next session of congress to preserve the poll tax and other "oppressive restrictions" on the right to vote, top flight CIO Political leaders reported here this week that Roosevelt and the Democrats could not have won without the support of Negro labor.

In an article to be published in The Nation magazine early in December Henry Lee Moon, Negro assistant to Sidney Hillman, will present figures showing that in a half dozen key states nearly 168 electoral votes would have been lost to Roosevelt if Negro workers had not given the Democrats their overwhelming support. Moon's story will show that while the country as a whole was giving Roosevelt only 54% of the total vote, Negroes in key industrial areas were giving him between 70 and 80 per cent.

During discussion of a resolution on Political action in which the CIO was pledged to fight for the removal of every oppressive restriction on the right to vote, it was reported in convention circles that the south will not oppose a permanent FEPC provided the administration stops the agitation in congress over poll taxes and the white primary.

The South And The Election

Pittsburgh Courier Pa.

The recent Presidential election brings home to us exactly what the disfranchisement of Negroes in the so-called Solid South means to the government of this country. 11-18-44

Mr. Roosevelt won by the narrow margin of three million votes, but two million of those votes came from Southern States which use many devices to prevent Negroes from voting.

These States were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas, which together gave President Roosevelt 104 electoral votes.

In States like Alabama, which has 11 electoral votes, the popular vote was less than 175,000, while Kentucky, with the same number of electoral votes, had a popular vote of nearly 900,000; Minnesota (11 electoral votes) cast nearly 1,000,000 popular votes; Virginia (11 electoral votes) cast about 400,000 popular votes; Oklahoma (10 electoral votes) cast about 650,000 popular votes.

Texas with 23 electoral votes cast about the same number of votes as Iowa with only ten electoral votes, while Mississippi with nine electoral votes cast only about 106,000 popular votes or less than Connecticut (eight electoral votes) which cast about 800,000 popular votes or Washington (eight electoral votes) which cast over 600,000 popular votes.

This disproportion is due entirely to the fact that Negroes in the Solid South jim-crow States are barred in one way or the other from voting.

It is interesting to note that New York, which cast over six million popular votes, has only twice as many electoral votes as Texas, which cast one-sixth as many popular votes.

This is American democracy at work.

The votes of the citizens in the most enlightened and progressive parts of the country like New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and California are worth only one-fourth or one-sixth as much as the votes of citizens in the least progressive and most backward sections of the country.

This system is unfair not only to the colored citizens, but to the enlightened white citizens as well.

It is a system which should be, and must be, scrapped if this Nation is to continue posing to the outside world as a democracy.

Pepper and Hill

New Republic - 4-24-44

Two stalwart liberals in the Senate are facing tough battles in their efforts to get reëlected. Lister Hill of Alabama and Claude Pepper of Florida are both running in primaries in their states early next month, with considerable danger of being defeated. Hill is opposed by James Simpson, a Birmingham attorney who is ultra-conservative and is pulling out all the stops on the "white supremacy" theme. The very things in Hill's record which cause him to be respected by independent progressives throughout the country are being used against him in his own state. New York

The same is true of Senator Pepper in Florida. He can probably obtain a plurality in the primary, in which he has four opponents; but his friends are worried about his success in the run-off election. His votes against the poll tax, in favor of the veto on the tax bill, against exempting fire-insurance companies from the anti-trust law and in favor of the reciprocal-trade program, have all alienated various groups. The Associated Industries of Florida, the prototype in that state of the NAM, is against him. As an offset, he has the support of organized labor, of the citrus growers, for whom he obtained higher ceiling prices, and of the liberal press in the larger cities. The Supreme Court "white primary" decision hurt both Hill and Pepper, by inflaming Southern sentiment. In the long run, the tides are with the progressives; but that is not much consolation to men who must win or lose within the next few weeks.

Pepper Rushes Home to Fight Hate Primary

PM-New York, N.Y.
4-3-44

Special Correspondence

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Apr. 3.—Opponents of Sen. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) in the Florida Senatorial primary, who have raised the "white supremacy" issue in the state for the first time in 16 years, have so needled the liberal Senator by inflammatory speeches that he has found it necessary to leave Washington and hurry home for a fence-mending tour.

"I had to come to Florida to meet the unequaled campaign of bitterness and misrepresentation which, out of an enormous slush fund, is being hurled against me," Pepper said in the first of a series of speeches. "The same evil combination which is working together in other parts of the country—namely, the isolationists, the Roosevelt-hating Republicans, and the Republicrats—have organized against me in this state and have raised a slush fund of $150,000.

"Since last December," Pepper continued, "this selfish and sinister combination has been scouring the state to get somebody to run against me. When I voted to sustain the veto on the tax bill they thought they had me cornered for the kill. They did not know that the people would find out that was a bill to tax the man and woman of low income and to relieve of taxes those who had made excessive profits out of the war 4-3-44

Generally conceded to have the best chance to get into the second primary (May 23) with Pepper—unless the Senator can swing a majority in the first primary (May 3) against a field of four opponents—is County Judge J. Ollie Edmunds of Jacksonville, a native of Georgia. He is echoing much the same line as that introduced early in the campaign by Millard Conklin, Daytona Beach attorney, also a candidate. They accuse Pepper of "stirring up racial strife and discord in violation of Southern tradition" (largely by association with the New Deal and Mrs. Roosevelt), and Edmund's advertising is full of such double-talk as this:

"The future is lost is the continuation of socialistic tendencies means the return of our fighting forces to WPA jobs instead of jobs supplied by Florida's farms, businesses and industries."

Pepper Ready To Fight Negro Vote In Primary

Miami. Fla. Herald
April 5, 1944

Sen. Claude Pepper declared in Miami Tuesday that the South vould permit nothing to impair vhite supremacy and expressed he belief that, despite Monday's upreme court decision, the Demoratic primaries in Florida could e "kept white."

The people of the South, the unior senator from Florida coninued, will not "allow matters peculiar to us to be determined by hose who do not know and undertand our problems."

"We will work the matter out so s to save the South," he said. "We lways have; we always will."

Pepper said he believed the Florida law on voting in primaries was lifferent from the Texas law, involved in the United States supreme court decision Monday that negroes could vote in the Democratic primaries in that state.

Under the Florida primary election statute, he pointed out, it is provided that the party and not the state determines the qualifications of members of the party.

LAW CHANGE SEEN

"If there is any question about the form of our statute," Pepper said, "it can be altered and the matter left exclusively in the hands of the party of determining who may vote in the Democratic primary.

"This can be done and the Democratic primaries kept white under the decision of the supreme court."

Before leaving for Key West late Tuesday for campaign speeches there, Pepper sent wires to both Governor Spessard L. Holland and Chairman Tom Conely of the State Democratic Executive committee, offering to meet with them and other Democratic leaders "to work the matter out so the white Democratic primary in Florida shall be assured and unimpaired," in case Attorney General J. Tom Watson should rule that the Supreme court decision affected Florida primaries.

Pepper's comment had added significance because at least one of his opponents for the Democratic nomination, Millard Conklin of Daytona Beach, has charged Pepper with being no supporter of white supremacy.

POSSIBILITY FORESEEN

Alston Cockrell of Jacksonville, another of Pepper's primary opponents, said that he had foreseen the possibility of such a Supreme court decision as that made Monday, had urged the state legislature in April, 1943, to adopt legislation to forestall it but that the bill prepared passed only the house of representatives.

The Florida senator's stand on the question of white Democratic primaries found him side by side with all other Southern senators, including the most bitter anti-New Dealers with whom he has differed on many recent issues such as the tax and soldier vote bills.

Florida's senior senator, Charles O. Andrews, has suggested that some Southern states might return to the old convention system of choosing party nominees, as a means of coping with the court decision.

Meanwhile, Governor Coke R. Stevenson of Texas said the state would ask the supreme court for rehearing on the negro vote ruling.

Stevenson dismissed suggestions at the Texas legislature hold a ecial legislative session to seek me other means, such as raisg the poll tax or setting up a eracy test requirement, to prent negroes from voting in the emocratic primaries. He said ch expedients would undoubtly also be ruled unconstitunal.

Most Southern political leaders commenting on the decision id it would have little effect on this year's primary since it seemed immediately applicable only to Texas.

COUNTER ACTION LOOMS

Southern senators and congressmen Tuesday predicted speedy state action to offset the court decision.

There has been no indication up to the present that any concerted effort will be made by negroes in Florida to vote in the May 2-23 Democratic primaries. Colored leaders in Georgia and South Carolina have indicated they will direct such efforts in those states.

The American Civil Liberties Union, an organization to protect individuals and minorities in their civil rights, said from its New York headquarters that the supreme court decision on negro voting would open the vote in Texas to "tens of thousands of Mexican-Americans equally excluded."

ACLU Director Roger M. Baldwin charged that Texas politicians have always regarded Mexican-Americans as colored and discriminations against them had been so numerous that the Mexican government had refused recently to permit 30,000 Mexicans to enter the United States to work on Texas farms.

Negroes Ballot at Tallahassee

Press-Savannah, Ga.

REJECTED AT ONE PRECINCT; HILL LEADS IN ALABAMA

5-2-44

MIAMI, May 2 (UP).—Seven negroes voted on the Democratic ticket in Tallahassee today, the first in history to be allowed to cast their ballots in a Southern state's Democratic party primary election.

Inspectors at 12 precincts in the city decided they could not legally prevent qualified negroes from voting. Their decision was reached after three negroes had been refused the right to vote as Democrats at one precinct while at another precinct six were permitted to cast their ballots.

There are 19 registered negro Democratic voters in Tallahassee.

One negro woman, who was told she could not cast a vote as a member of the Democratic party, demanded written refusal. Following a conference of election officials she was permitted to vote.

Miami officials at the polls reported that there were no negroes qualified as members of the Democratic party in Dade county and therefore it was impossible for any negroes to vote here.

5-2-44

The action touched off fireworks that will resound throughout the South where the negro has always been barred from the Democratic party.

The United States Supreme Court, in a ruling several weeks ago on the Texas primaries, declared that the negro had the right to vote as a Democrat if he were qualified.

This is he first test in the nation of the high court's ruling.

52a-1944

Georgia

INTEREST AROUSED IN CALHOUN'S CANDIDACY

Daily World- Atlanta, Ga.

4-1-44

Considerable interest has been aroused in the recent announcement of J. H. Calhoun, Jr., local businessman for the office of Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia. In an open letter to the public, Mr. Calhoun is calling on all citizens, civic and political leaders and pastors of churches in the district to observe Sunday, April 16 as Citizenship Day, urging all citizens who have not qualified as registered voters to do so by May 7, 1944, the date the registration books close.

4-1-44

He is also calling a meeting of persons interested in his campaign to meet Tuesday evening, April 4, at 7:30 in the Butler Street Branch YMCA for the purpose of organizing a Citizens' Campaign Committee. His position is that regardless of race, creed, color, party affiliations or committments, citizens should be registered to place themselves in position to express themselves on the issue that will be raised in his proposed campaign.

His request for the naming of Citizenship Day coincides with the Education for Citizenship observance of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity held annually, during which citizenship will be stressed and all persons of voting age will be urged to register and vote.

Mr Calhoun is urging every pastor, civic and political leader, to begin this Sunday, April 2nd, stressing the importance of registration and citizenship expression. All persons, male and female, above the age of 18 who have resided for 12 months or more in Atlanta, Fulton, DeKalb and Rockdale Counties, for six months or more are eligible to register at their respective County Courthouses. Persons from 18-21 may register without payment of poll taxes; women 21 or over, who have not registered before will not be required to pay the poll tax for the first year, but all bonafide citizens should register.

An Open Letter To The Public:

Daily World- Atlanta, Ga

4-1-44

I have been greatly inspired and encouraged' by the fine response which has come as a result of my announcement through the columns of the Atlanta Daily World of an intention to seek the Republican nomination for the office of Congressman from the Fifth District of Georgia.

Men women and children in all walks of life made special efforts to assure me of their approval and support. If I am successful in sesuring the nomination it is my intention to discuss and develope certain issue which should be of vital interest to all citizens of the Fifth District. It is my firm belief that the November elections will give them an opportunity to express themselves upon those issues, regardless of party affiliations or committments, race, creed or color.

At the present time, the important things is that every bona fide citizen, 18 years of age or over, become a qualified voter. If this is not done before May 7, 1944, he will not be in a position to express himself, regardless of how we might feel. For that reason I am requesting every pastor, labor, club, fraternal educational and professional leader to begin now stressing to his or her followers the importance of becoming a registered voter, leading up to a Citizenship Day April 19th. 4-1-44 **.....**

I am also requesting that all persons interested in my candidacy meet at the Butler Street Branch YMCA Tuesday evening, April 4th at 7:30 o'clock. At that time a Citizens Committee will be organized for the purpose of promoting the campaign.

Sincerely,
J. H. Calhoun, Jr.

NO NEGRO VOTES CAST IN CHATHAM

News- Savannah, Ga.

Told By Election Officials Names Not On List

Negroes did not vote in the Democratic primary election here yesterday. 7-5-44

C. R. Alexander, chairman of the recently formed Chatham County Negro Democratic Club, said last night that he appeared at his voting place and was informed that his name was not on the list of registered voters furnished election officials and thus was not permitted to vote. This procedure was repeated in the case of several other negroes who appeared to cast their vote, Alexander said.

The club chairman said he planned to ask an explanation why his and other negroes who he said was registered voters were not on the list.

At a pre-primary election meeting Monday night, the negroes were instructed in voting procedure and were advised to be orderly when they presented themselves at the polls. "Exercise your right rather than any force," Alexander said the negroes were told.

No election disorders were reported here.

Calhoun Seeks Nomination To Congress From 5th District

Daily World- Atlanta, Ga.

3-28-44

John H. Calhoun, well known businessman, church, civic and fraternal leader, announced late Monday that he would seek the Republican nomination for congressman from the Fifth Congressional District.

This is probably the first time since the Reconstruction Period that a Negro has sought this honor from this district.

Mr. Calhoun's formal announcement of his intention follows:

"Upon the advice of number of my friends, and in the interest of developing the two-party system in Georgia, I propose to seek the Republican nomination for Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of this state. It is our firm belief that this will permit articulate expression of the thousands of Republicans in this district, and give me an opportunity to render distinct service to my fellow citizens. I would appreciate expressions and support from my friends and possible supporters in the district." 3-28-44

Mr. Calhoun is connected with the realty firm of Cornelius King and Son and the Calhoun Furniture Company. Superintendent of the Sunday School at Big Bethel A. M. E. Church, he is an outstanding layman in his connection and will serve as a delegate to the 1944 general conference of his church in Philadelphia. He is president of the Atlanta Pan-Hellenic Council and has long been active in the affairs of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, now serving as Seventh District representative. **Prominent** as a civic worker, he is a member of the Board of Directors of the Butler Street YMCA, the Atlanta Civic-Political League and served in 1943 as co-chairman of the Red Cross Membership campaign. He is a member of the Young Men's Republican Club. His other community activities have been many.

An Open Letter To The Public:

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga. 4-2-44

I have been greatly inspired and encouraged' by the fine response which has come as a result of my announcement through the columns of the Atlanta Daily World of an intention to seek the Republican nomination for the office of Congressman from the Fifth District of Georgia.

Men women and children in all walks of life made special efforts to assure me of their approval and support. If I am successful in sesuring the nomination it is my intention to discuss and develope certain issue which should be of vital interest to all citizens of the Fifth District. It is my firm belief that the November elections will give them an opportunity to express themselves upon those issues, regardless of party affiliations or committments, race, creed or color.

At the present time, the important things is that every bona fide citizen, 18 years of age or over, become a qualified voter. If this is not done before May 7, 1944, he will not be in a position to express himself, regardless of how we might feel. For that reason I am requesting every pastor, labor, club, fraternal educational and professional leader to begin now stressing to his or her followers the importance of becoming a registered voter, leading up to a Citizenship Day April 19th. 4-2-44 **.........**

I am also requesting that all persons interested in my candidacy meet at the Butler Street Branch YMCA Tuesday evening, April 4th at 7:30 o'clock. At that time a Citizens Committee will be organized for the purpose of promoting the campaign.

Sincerely,
J. H. Calhoun, Jr.

Negro Naming Fails To 'Jell'

Constitution- Atlanta, Ga

Prospects of an Atlanta Negro Republican opposing Congressman Robert Ramspeck died a quiet death when a district convention composed predominantly of Negroes failed to nominate John H. Calhoun Jr., Atlanta Negro insurance agent. 5-23-44

Calhoun announced his candidacy at a Fulton county meeting last week. He would have needed indorsement of the district convention to make the race. No mention was made of a Calhoun candidacy at yesterday's session.

This convention, one of two rival district sessions held at the Fulton county courthouse yesterday, indorsed Governor Dewey for the presidential nomination. It named Dr. L. M. Hill, Atlanta Negro, as delegate to the Chicago convention, and Dr. Thomas H. Slater, Atlanta Negro, as alternate. J. W. Dobbs, Atlanta Negro, was selected as chairman of the district organization, which includes one white man, J. T. Rose, former internal revenue collector, as an executive committee member.

An effort of H. H. Turner, white Atlanta lawyer, to have his all-white Fulton county delegation recognized as delegates to the district convention failed when the county organization led by Rose was seated. Turner's outfit then withdrew and held a district convention of its own.

Turner, himself, was chosen a delegate to the national convention by this convention. Mrs. E. Stewart was named alternate. G. E. Plunkett was elected district chairman. 5-23-44

A third group's district convention scheduled for this morning at the Fulton county courthouse was losing its following last night, after its chairman, Harry Sommers, said he would not attend the meeting. Sommers said he issued the call last week after being named chairman of a Fulton county delegation. Since then, he said he learned he was erroneously named chairman.

Runs For Congress Charging Incumbent Failed To Remove Negro Mail Carriers In Ga.

Daily World- Atlanta, Ga.

7-7-44

SAVANNAH, Ga.—(SNS)—

Judge J. Ellis J. Pope, of Lyons last week charged his congressional campaign ad in a local daily that the present congressman Rep. Peterson, had duped his constituents 10 years ago by promising that he would remove all Negro mail carriorrs here and give the jobs to white men.

Branding himself as opposed to what he terms "Negro domination" Pope reprinted a resolution he supported in 1929 when Mrs. Herbert Hoover invited Mrs. Oscar De Pirest, wife of Congressman Oscar De Priest of Chicago, tto tea at the White House. The resolution was passed by the general assembly of Georgia expressing opposition against the resolution

Even though 10 years have elapsed our citizens by the hundreds will recall that, in that campaign he would remove the Negro mail carriers of Savannah and replace them with white men,' Judge Pope's political ad read "He said over and over again in that campaign that it was a shame and disgrace that tho then congressman from this ristrict (Hom, Homer C. Parker) had allowed Negroes to continue in these good jobs that belonged to white men. He stated it would be a simple matter to replace these Savannah Negroes with white men, and promised that one of his very first official acts as your congressman would be to remove the Negroes from those federal jobs.

7-7-44

"This is Negro domination of the rankest sort," continued Judge Pope. "It is Negro domination, not in Chicago or New York, but right here is the south, right here at home, in the first district of Ga. Your congressman claims he is opposed to Negro domination in his own district."

Pope reminded the voters about John Hope, 11, Atlanta FEPC examiner, and his white stone-clerk Myra Bunting, in his campaign ad and charged that hs opponent was responsible for injecting the race issue into he campaign. In his dicussion about Hope an Miss Bunting, he said.

7-7-44

"To all intents and purpose, this Negro, John Hope, is employer, with taxpayers' money, of this white girl. Negro Hope draws a salary of $3,200 per year, while his white girl secretary draws $1,800 per year."

Negro Expected To Be Candidate For Congress

News- Macon, Ga.

5-17-44

ATLANTA, [AP]—A Negro insurance man, John C. Calhoun, Republican, may oppose Rep. Robert Ramspeck, Democratic party whip, of Atlanta, for the congressional seat of Georgia's Fifth district in the November general election.

Calhoun will seek the Republican nomination next Monday in a predominantly Negro district party convention to be held here, just one day before a rival Republican group, predominantly white, will meet.

Negroes were advised not to try to vote in the state Democratic primary on July 4 by Ben Davis, former Republican Negro national committeeman from Georgia.

* * *

"THERE IS a personal question each man must decide for himself," said Davis in an Atlanta meeting yesterday. "I am not going to try to vote in that primary. They [the white Democrats] don't want us and we won't get anywhere doing it, 5-17-44

"I hope they will not permit a Negro in this [Fulton] county to vote in that primary July . . . . I am going to let the white folks run their own party."

Negro Leaders Seek to Prevent Mass Voting

Journal—Atlanta, Ga.

6-30-44

By KEN TURNER

The Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County, an organization of Negro leaders, has recommended that there be no wholesale attempt by Negroes of this county to vote in the Democratic Primary on July 4 and called upon all Negro registered voters of the Democratic faith "to comply" with this advice.

C. A. Scott, president of the club, said Friday that only officers and members of the executive committee would offer to vote in the primary so as to lay the foundation for a suit to test the legality of the state's white primary.

He said the club at a meeting Thursday night adopted a report of its subcommittee which advised against a wholesale attempt to vote by Negroes. There was only one dissenting vote.

He pointed out that members of the association felt that 10 or 12 officers could lay the foundation for a suit as well as several hundred.

A. T. Walden, Atlanta Negro attorney and newly chosen head of the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs, presented the restricted vote resolution.

Resolution Adopted

The resolution follows:

"Whereas, the State Democratic Executive Committee on June 22nd, affirmed a ruling made June 7 by a subcommittee excluding Negroes from the July 4 Democratic primary and sent out instructions to the various county committees to comply with this ruling, and,

"Whereas, the state committee contends that the relationship between the Democratic primary and the laws of Georgia is different from that of the Texas situation which the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional, and,

6-30-44

"Whereas, the chairman of the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee has said the ruling of the state committee will be observed and,

"Whereas, we have been officially told that the list of Negro registered voters will not be sent to the various election precincts for the July 4 primary, and,

"Whereas, in the approaching primary there are no important contests in which we are concerned other than as other citizens are, "Be it resolved that we the officers and members of the Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County recommend that the attempt of Negroes to vote in the July 4 Democratic primary be restricted to the officers and members of the executive committee of this club, since a refusal to allow them to vote would afford sufficient legal basis upon which to predicate action to test the matter in the courts of Georgia.

"Be it also resolved that all Negro registered voters of the Democratic faith comply with the advice of the Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County in this restricted vote attempt on July 4."

6-30-44

The resolution bore the signature of the following officers of the organization:

C. A. Scott, president; Dr. R. A. Billings, vice president; Birdie Wallace, secretary; J. A. Batts, treasurer; A. 1. Walden, legal advisor; the Rev. L. M. Terrill, chaplain; J. A. Pierce and C. A. Bacote, members of the executive committee.

Negro Quits in Ga. Race for Congress

Amsterdam News

New York, N.Y., 6-3-

ATLANTA (ANP)—Prospects of a Negro running for Congress in Georgia for the first time since the reconstruction era died a quiet death here Monday when the fifth district Republican convention, with a majority of the delegates Negroes, failed to nominate John H. Calhoun, Jr., Atlanta furniture dealer.

Calhoun, who announced his candidacy just before Easter, would have needed the endorsement of the district convention to make the race. No mention was made of his candidacy at the district meeting. If endorsed, Calhoun would have run in opposition to the Democratic incumbent, Robert Ramspeck, a bitter foe of the FEPC. The convention endorsed Gov. Dewey for the Presidential nomination.

Ga. Supreme Court Asked to Reverse GOP Ruling

Afro American—Baltimore, md.

9-23-44

ATLANTA (ANP) — The Republican National Committee on September 12 asked the Georgia Supreme Court to reverse the Fulton Superior Court's ruling upholding Secretary of State John B. Wilson's listing of a lily-white group of electors on the official Georgia Ballot.

In its appeal, the committee contends that a racially mixed delegation, headed by W. R. Tucker, State GOP chairman; Wilson Williams, national committeeman; Harry Sommers and C. N. Jordan, has been approved by the national committee.

Moreover, it adds, the faction listed on the ballot as Republican is composed of six anti-Roosevelt Democrats, headed by former Governor Talmadge, and six Republicans previously certified by the so-called Independent Democrats.

Ga. Law Upholds Wilson

The appeal, in which the four State Republican leaders have joined, further complains that there is no Georgia law requiring the secretary of State to certify the names of candidates for elector properly certified by the national party authorities.

Attorneys for the national committee are expected to ask the Supreme Court to expedite the hearing, otherwise the appeal will be argued on November 13, almost a week after the November 7 election. 9-23-44

The same plaintiffs filed a mandamus action to compel Wlison to place their ticket on the ballot in Fulton Superior Court on August 19. Judge Walter C. Hendrix during the hearing on August 30 sustained a general demurrer and dismissed the petition.

Lily-White GOP Wins In Ballot Row In Georgia

Daily World—Atlanta, Ga.

10-7-44

Supreme Court Upholds Fulton Judge's Ruling

The Georgia Supreme Court Friday refused to force Secretary of State John B. Wilson to certify presidential electors named by a mixed racial group of Republicans. Thus, the "lily-white" Republican faction won a final victory in the fight to place electors on the ballot November 7.

The high court backed up the Fulton superior court in ruling that Georgia has no law compelling the secretary of state to certify any candidate to the Governor. The law says the secretary shall receive and file lists of nominees, and that the Governor shall prepare a form ballot for ordinaries of the various counties—but it does not specify how the Governor shall receive the information, the supreme court said. 7-44

The electors of the winning faction, going on the ballot next month, are composed of six Republicans and six indepedent Democrats.

In another Republican battle before the court, the justices Friday dismissed a petition of J. M. Nichols, Fannin county ordinary, to set aside a Fannin court order forcing him to place G. A. Curtis' name on the ballot as nominee for county commissioner. Nichols had certified the name of Tobie Green for county commissioner.

52a-1944 Illinois

Midwest Negroes Set High Political Mark

Worker – New York, N.Y.

7-9-44

By RAY HANSBROUGH

CHICAGO.—The Illinois-Midwest Negro People's Assembly, held in Parkway Ballroom, Chicago, June 24-25, marked a higher stage in the movement among the Negro people to draft President Roosevelt for a fourth term and laid plans for uniting with all liberty-loving Americans for his re-election.

With the nomination of Dewey by the Republicans, all Negroes and liberal Americans are left with no choice than to form a great unity coalition in support of the President, his policies and the nation's war effort.

President Roosevelt's support must be non-partisan, uniting Democrats, Republicans and independent voters who see that only through the continuation of his leadership and the mobilization of the people to carry forward his program is their hope for the elimination of segregation in the armed forces, the abolition of restrictive covenants and the Negro ghetto, and the full integration of the Negro people in all phases of American life on the basis of unconditional equality. 7-9-44

HOME FRONT RECORD

With this perspective the center of its discussion, the Assembly, in addition to the re-election of President Roosevelt and Vice-President Wallace, went on record for a permanent FEPC; abolition of discrimination in the armed forces; passage of the anti-polltax bill; enforcement of the United States Supreme Court decisions on "white primaries"; a Federal educational program, and more public housing projects.

The 260 delegates representing church, civic, business, labor, professional and fraternal organizations, who came from Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Ohio, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma New York, California and the District of Columbia, were solidly united around this program.

THREE CONFERENCES

It is significant to note that three Negro non-partisan political conferences took place in Chicago the same week-end (June 24), each meeting a few blocks from the other.

First, the Negro People's Assembly, which called for a forthright endorsement of Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Second, the Douglas-Washington Institute conference, endorsed by the CIO, also supported Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Third, the March-on-Washington movement conference, headed by A. Phillip Randolph, president, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, did not endorse any candidate for President. A five-point program adopted, which was presented to the Republican convention and will also be submitted to the Democratic convention in July, dealt with basic demands on Negro rights.

Simultaneously, there was printed in the Chicago press a "Message to the Republican and Democratic Conventions from the Negroes of America," signed by 25 national Negro leaders. 7-9-44

It is to be regretted that the three conferences and the sponsors of this message were not combined into one united political effort. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the Negro people are on the march in search of unity for victory and progress.

But the Negro people will not be fooled by the deception of Dewey and the tricky promises of the Republican Party.

The election of Dewey as President would block all future progress for the Negro people. It is, therefore, the duty and responsibility of the Negro people and their organizations to unite with the labor movement and the progressive white people for the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Dawson First Colored On Congressional Body

Tribune – Philadelphia, Pa.

5-13-44

WASHINGTON — (ANP) —Congressman William L. Dawson, was unanimously designated by his Illinois colleagues in the House to represent them on the Democratic National Congressional Committee, the committee announced last week. Dawson becomes the first Negro ever to serve in such a capacity.

52a-1944

Kansas

KANSAS GOP NAME FIRST NEGRO DELEGATE IN HISTORY OF STATE

Plaindealer — Kansas City, Kans.

4-7-44

(By Member of Plaindealer Staff)

Topeka, Kan.—The Republican State convention was held here at the Municipal Auditorium last Friday, and not in the memory of this writer has there been a more harmonious session than was held this time. This may be due to the fact that there was real harmony, or it may be due to a lack of interest in what was being done, or it could be due to the shrewd weeding out of the delegation of men and women who could not be identified as the rubber stamp variety. At any rate the convention was a love feast—at least on the surface. Fine things were said in speeches by the keynoter, and Governor Schoepel and Alf M. Landon. The remarks were more or less upon a high level and in some respect constructive. Mr. Landon knows how to show up the weaknesses of the present administration and make some constructive suggestions with regard to all matters that vitally concern the people.

4-7-44

Negro Delegate

For the first time in the history of the state, so said Fred Helm, Wichita attorney who nominated Lloyd Kerford, Kansas elected a Negro delegate to the National Republican convention. Now that it is done no one wants to accept the responsibility for having prevented it before now. Mr. Landon in a phone conversation with Bishop Hamlett said, "I have favored it all along, but have just got things in shape so we could do it." The delegation to the National Republican convention was elected without any confusion or dissent, including Lloyd Kerford of Atchison as delegate-at-large and Attorney Elmer Jackson of Kansas City as alternate-at-large. The delegates were not instructed by the convention, but it is understood that they are learning toward Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

4-7-44

Rationing of rubber and gas must have kept away many more who might have attended the convention. There was a noticeable absence of Negro leaders as compared to former conventions, and there was also a staggering lack of enthusiasm on the part of those who were present.

52a-1944 Maryland

Randall Says He Endorses FEPC, Poll Tax, Lynch Bills

[illegible] — Baltimore, Md.

7-15-44

BALTIMORE—Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate, Blanchard Randall, Jr., says he is in favor of the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, a Federal anti-lynching law, and the abolition of poll taxes by Federal statue.

Although declining to say whether he favors a Federal educational fund or not, Mr. Blanchard states that if the Federal Government should appropriate such funds, they should be expended without discrimination by reason of race or religion.

In case Congress should doubt that the funds would be spent in this manner, he feels that it would be justified in requiring a commitment from State authorities that the money would be expended without discrimination.

Follows GOP Line

He favors the adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the imposition of a tax on a citizen as a requisite for voting, believing that all citizens should have the right to vote, he said.

While there may be a question of the constitutionality of a Federal anti lynch law, Mr. Blanchard says, he is in favor of any steps which will eradicate this defiance of law and order and blot on American civilization.

7-15-44

Blanchard will oppose Senator Millard E. Tydings in the November election.

52a-1944

Mississippi

RANKIN'S VICTORY

Representative Rankin, of Tupelo, Miss., was renominated the other day by a smashing majority of four to one, and some of the commentators up North who do not like his brand of statesmanship have been trying to account for it. Their reasons take a wide range. One of the poll tax phobists says "of course" he was elected when only the chosen few can vote under the requirements of certain Southern states. Yet there is no reason to suppose that the Mississippi result would have been different if every man and woman in the Tupelo district had voted. News- B'ham, Ala.

In that part of Mississippi they like Rankin for his defense of TVA, a defense which took real courage in the old days, for Tupelo has been made a wide-awake, bustling city with TVA current and the whole Tupelo region appreciates it.

Others are gleeful because Rankin was elected though the CIO had bitterly denounced him and tried to defeat him, because no man has been more hostile on the floor of Congress to the CIO than has been Rankin. 7-14-'44

Whatever the reason for the big vote given their representative—and it is probably a combination of several reasons—Rankin will continue to be one of the important figures in Congress and one who has shown and is showing the kind of courage and independence needed in the legislative halls.—Alabama Journal (Montgomery).

52a-1944

New York

21st District and the Negro Vote

Daily Worker

By James W. Ford

New York, N.Y. 3-10-44

The results of the Congressional by-election in the Twenty-First District of New York on February 29 reveal strong dangers and lack of aggressiveness of the win-the-war, pro-Roosevelt forces which must be combatted and overcome. The Democrats cannot be insensible to the herculean efforts of Republicans to make headway among the Negro people.

James W. Ford

The 21st District includes Washington Heights with a large Jewish and Irish population, a sizable Negro vote, and the solidly Negro populated 19th and 21st Assembly Districts of Harlem. The latter two A.D.'s constitute the heart of the new Congressional District (the new 22nd Congressional District formed by the New York State Legislature) which will elect a Negro representative to Congress this Fall. Considerable speculation is being made about the Negro vote in Harlem in the 1944 national elections for President.

SERIOUS THREAT

The Republicans feel highly encouraged and hail the results of the election as an indication of a trend of the Negroes away from the Administration as the 1944 elections approach. This, of course, would be disastrous for the win-the-war forces, not only in New York but nationally among the Negroes.

As I write I have before me more than a score of newspaper clippings which contain pointed comments, supported by statistics and wide news coverage, on the "favorable significance" of the election for the Republican Party, as for example, the following declarations of prominent officials: 3-10-44

Harrison Spangler, chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party, described the results as showing "a very decided trend away from the President and in favor of the Republican Party." The Secretary of New York State, Thomas J. Curran, chairman of the New York County Committee of the Republican Party, characterized the election as "a great Republican victory" which will go forward in steady, even progress until November.

Harlem is known to be very politically alert, progressive, anti-fascist and pro-war. The 19th and 21st A.D.'s are normally and absolutely in the win-the-war column. Harlem has regularly returned large majorities for the President during the last 12 years.

In the recent election, however, the following is observed:

1) In the 19th and 21st A.D.'s, the Republican candidate, Bennet, received 2,939 votes, and the Democratic candidate, Torrens, received only 1,283 votes—out of the combined Republican-Democratic vote cast. The Republican candidate thus carried these two solidly populated Negro districts by a little more than two-to-one against his Democratic rival.

2) The ALP vote in these two A.D.'s went to Torrens; the vote was 360, or less than 1 per cent of the total vote cast. The ALP vote was negligible in the light of the large progressive, pro-Roosevelt, win-the war vote cast for candidates in the 1943 councilmanic and city elections.

3) In 1942, Judge Gavagan, the successful Democratic Congressional candidate of that year, carried the 21st District by a plurality of 29,000 votes, against the Republican candidate. In the elections of 1940 over 65,000 ballots were cast for President Roosevelt.

52a N.Y.

4) The campaign was conducted on an extremely low political and organizational level by the Democratic Party forces. The Democratic candidate made few appearances and barely raised the vital issues of the war. In effect, he did harm to the war program by his neglect of these issues, and passed by the Commander-in-Chief's fight on the Soldier Vote Bill, the Tax Bill, the Subsidy Bill to reduce the cost of living and other vital issues. The ALP did very little more than the Democrats. 3-10-44

5) The win-the-war, progressive and labor forces among the Negro people, especially in the 19th and 21st A.D.'s failed to appreciate fully the relation of the election to the Fall election, and dangerously, almost by default, placed in jeopardy their chances this Fall.

6) [illegible] Republicans made a very strong organizational campaign. They undoubtedly enhanced their position. They made the campaign national, against President Roosevelt. Both Dewey and Willkie intervened. Certain leaders used the outworn myth that present-day Republican leaders carry forward the ideals and traditions of Lincoln. The Republicans made demagogic use of yet unsolved grievances of the Negro people against the President; while the Tammany Democrats allowed the age-old denial of Negro leadership in the district and the bureaucratic choice of a candidate, who is no participant in the people's movements, demoralize the people of the district.

The win-the-war forces must accurately calculate the results of the election and counteract the efforts of anti-Roosevelt newspapers and partisan, anti-nation unity Republicans to distort them and cause confusion. 3-10-44

THE REAL STAKES

Considering the magnitude of the issues that face the nation and the Negro people today in the world crisis of war and the path outlined at Tehran, under the guiding hands of President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, for winning the war against fascism—the interests of the Negro people lie in supporting President Roosevelt and the Tehran agreements.

Obviously there is room for improving the position of the Negro people. But the administration's policy of increasingly integrating the Negroes in our war industries and in our army of liberation, and the gains brought about during the last 12 years through the New Deal and the pro-labor and the increasing progressive policies of the administration, far surpass any progress made by the Negro people in the last 50 years.

It is probably true, as stated in the **New York Times**, that certain Negro leaders say that "opportunities for racial and individual advancement can be achieved at this time through the use of 'power politics' by 'throwing' their weight around politically." This is unsound advice. It is a "politics-as-before method," weighed down with opportunism that betrays the interests of the mass of Negro people. The stakes are too great to play around with the life of the Negro people. The issues of today are far beyond partisan politics. They must be fought out by crossing party lines for national unity.

Finally, it should go without saying that the democratic, patriotic national unity forces must begin NOW to remedy the weaknesses revealed in the February by-election and organize the people for a fourth term for President Roosevelt and for full rights for the Negro people. THERE MUST BE UNITY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE, THEIR ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS BEHIND THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN THE GIGANTIC STRUGGLE TO WIN THE WAR.

Conversation Piece

Daily World- Atlanta, Ga. 1-2-44

52a. N.Y.

World-Telgram And Ben Davis

By MARC MORELAND

The New York World-Telegram doesnt' like the kind of campaign Ben Davis waged in his successful race for the City Council. The World-Telegram thinks that Davis' campaign was too "racialist' in its emphasis and in its projection of the issue. Of course, Ben, too, is a Communist; and the World-Telegram doesn't care how many Democrats Republican, American Labor Party members and independent voters supported him.

It isn't precisely clear what the paper means by "racialist." One infers, however, that the editors object to Davis' dramatizing the problems of the people of Harlem and the aspirations of numerous common folk throughout the city. Nevertheless, there is nothing particularly 'racialist' about this. For while Davis pressed home hard the case of the black citizen, caught in the tangle of discrimination and Jim Crow, he certainly did not make the mistake of separating the problems of the black masses from those of labor, other minorities and common folk generally.

52a N.Y.

Indeed, given Ben Davis' philosophy, his record as a public man, and the established facts of his actual campaigning, one sees a singularly objective meeting and joining of the issues that face the people of New York today. 1-2-44

WHY NOT PUSH HIS CASE?

It would have been foolish for Ben Davis not to have made much of the fact that with his election the Council would be assured of Negro representation, and not to have pushed his case as the Negro candidate most likely to win.

One suspects the World-Telegram wanted Mr. Davis to forget he is a colored man, without activising itself to help him or any other black man in New York to forget his color. The World-Telegram seems to have wanted Mr. Davis to 'above the battle' when, as a matter of fact, the battle was, in large part to see that a Negro citizen was continued on the Council.

That so many persons, more than half of whom it is reported were white, voted for Ben Davis, may be taken to mean that not a few New Yorkers want an upstanding Negro on the Council; and that, if he happens to be a Communist, they still want him. And it would appear from the election of Peter Cacchione, Ben Davis, and Michael Quill, who is day in and day out said to be a Communist, that New Yorkers just dont' give a hoot about ~~more~~ labels anymore, or at least not now. They are looking to the man and what he stands for, and not to the party alone. 1-2-44

In the case of Davis' election, the Negro citizens of Harlem have won a great victory, with the aid of their liberal white friends. And it its worthy of note that some of the conservative elements in Harlem supported the candidacy of Ben Davis with time, effort and money because, as many of them said Ben Davis is a good man, a fighting man and we need a fighting man on the Council. This shows real growth and political development, and it promises well for the people of Harlem.

POLITICAL MATHEMATICS

The NEW YORK POST, commenting on the Council election said that Proportional Representation had failed in New York and gave as a reason for this that the number of Communists elected indicates there are 1,240,000 which there surely are not. Now, there maybe something wrong with the way PR is conducted in New York but the POST is involvled in a curious kind of political mathematics when it says PR requires more than a million Communists to justify the election of Pete Cacchione, Ben Davis and, presumably, Mike Quill 1-2-44

For it should be clear that, among those voting (the others can't possibly count since they didn't vote) personality, platforms, records in the public service, organization were all factors in choice. And unless one insists, as the POST does, on assessing PR in terms off PF census figures, and not in terms of active voters and the multiple factors in choice which affect parties and individuals variously, he will find no difficulty in understanding the returns.

Under the general suffrage, Proportional Representation is bound to represent the proportionate choice of candidates on the basis of political standards and values, and not the mere arithmetic of census figures. 1-2-44

I shouldn't be surprised at all to find that New York has elected the best Council in years; and that this is mainly so because the election represents a quality of choice that marks an apportionment of Councilmen on the basis of ideas and standards which stood the test.

POWELL REVISES PLEDGE

Times-New York, N.Y.

Will Represent All in District, Candidate for Congress Says

4-30-44

The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Tammany organization choice for the Democratic nomination for Representative in the new Twenty-second Congressional District, who said recently he would "represent the Negro people first and after that the rest of the American people," revised this statement yesterday. He spoke at the Finnish Turva Lodge, 3,801, 15 West 126th Street.

"It is true that there are 310,000 Negroes in Harlem," Dr. Powell said. "But there are also 100,000 Puerto Ricans, 2,000 Chinese, 3,000 Italians, 5,000 Finns and in the upper section of this Congressional district 5,000 Irishmen, Jews and Latin-Americans other than Puerto Ricans. 4-30-44

"I promise to represent this district first—not only the Negroes but each and every citizen of this area, irrespective of race, creed or political affiliation. I will represent all other areas and sections to the best of my ability. This is a Congressman's first responsibility to the people of his area."

NEW YORK

Elephant Ride in Harlem

TIME - Chicago, Ill.

The big news out of a small Manhattan Congressional election last week was that the Negro seems to be turning against the New Deal. The news was enough to make GOPsters hail a local, narrow Democratic victory as a national Republican triumph.

The facts: New York's 21st Congressional District starts at the Hudson River, where "white folks live on the hill," then dips into Harlem. Negroes constitute a third of the district's voters; the 21st has not elected a Republican in 22 years; in the shiniest days of the New Deal, the Democratic majority shot as high as 80,000 votes. Last week a Tammany perennial won by a squeaky 1,571 votes.

Actually, Republican William S. Bennet, 73, a Wall Street lawyer who served three terms in the House before World War I, polled more votes than Tammany's candidate, James H. Torrens, 69, received on the Democratic ballot. The 3,226 votes that Torrens got on the leftist American Labor Party's ticket were the margin of his victory. Even more important, Republican Bennet won the only two sections that lie wholly in Harlem. 3-13-44

Democrats and ALPsters, instead of glowing over victory, rushed into print with as many "explanations" as if the had lost. Election Day was wet, snow and nasty; balloting was only one-fou of normal. They alibied on & on: Negro Democrats weren't interc [illegible] Franklin Roosevelt himself was not on the ballot; New York's fiery Fiorello LaGuardia, telling his supporters after the election what he was careful not to say before, blamed his Party's weak choice. He described Bennet as "cultured, educated and experienced" and Torrens as a "Tammany wardheeler."

Republicans, working Harlem with success for the first time in years, heard better explanations. What had the hamstrung Fair Employment Practices Commission really done for the Negro worker? How fair a break were Negroes getting in the Armed Services? Republicans heard of many a Negro serviceman returning in anger to Harlem, there to spread dissatisfaction. Often the returned Negro soldier was angry at segregation in Army camps, at the Navy's unabashed racial snobbishness, at the Negro's "token" representation on the fighting fronts. The Negroes who helped elect a Republican Governor last November in Kentucky, and now had voted Republican in Harlem, had taken their protests to the polls.

Crosswaith Joins Reactionary Bloc Against Powell

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

4-20-44

Harlem is incensed at the bitter attack on the congressional candidacy of A. Clayton Powell, outstanding Negro leader, by Frank R. Crosswaith, head of the so-called "Negro Labor Committee" and employe of the reactionary Social-Democrat, David Dubinsky.

Crosswaith is reported to have said concerning Powell, who has the official Democratic endorsement as nominee from the new 22nd district in Harlem, that "we do not want a dark edition of the Bilbo or Rankin ilk who thrive upon exploiting racial and creedal differences."

The statement is being interpreted as a virtual demand that the fight for Negro rights cease. Powell, a former city councilman, has been an outstanding fighter for those rights and is consequently a national Negro leader.

The parallel with a Bilbo and a Rankin is considered especially absurd since Powell has collaborated closely with labor and with progressive whites in his struggles on behalf of the Negro people.

Negro leaders recall how last fall another Dubinsky "stooge," Dean Alfange, using arguments similar to those of Crosswaith, attacked ALP endorsement of City Judge Francis E. Rivers, the only Negro ever to reach the city court bench. Alfange threw his support to Rivers' opponent. 4-20-44

LOOKING FOR OPPONENT

Crosswaith's influence in the district is slight, and if that were all Powell had to contend with his election would be certain. But the Negro Social Democrat, fronting for Dubinsky, is part of a much wider movement of reactionary Democrats and Dewey Republicans against Powell's candidacy.

Anti-Roosevelt elements in Tammany have made the Harlem ex-councilman a target in their fight against the county's Democratic leadership, while the GOP machine has been shopping around for a candidate that could unite the various anti-Powell groups.

The first choice of these groups, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has declined to run, evidently realizing that he has no chance to defeat Powell.

They are now trying to induce Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make the race. He is reported to be distinctly reluctant.

Another one of their projected candidates is Cilian B. Powell, Amsterdam News publisher who was recently appointed to the State Boxing Commission by Governor Dewey. 4-20-44

Assemblyman William T. Andrews, Negro legislator, has also thrown his hat into the ring for the Democratic nomination. He is not, however, associated with the reactionary anti-Powell lineup though efforts will probably be made to use him to split Powell's support.

Negro Leaders Rally To Smother Dewey

PM- New York, N.Y. 4-3-44

His Failure to Act On Discrimination Starts Press War on Him

By Earl Conrad

PM Exclusive

For Gov. Dewey, the Negro question has become a boomerang that has completed its cycle, and now lies heavily about his political neck, like a sickle.

That is the only conclusion possible from a survey of editorial opinion in the Negro press nationally, and on a basis of individual and group reaction in Harlem since the close of the Legislature. Right now:

¶ Negro leaders are concentrating on the defeat of Dewey at the Republican nominating convention. If Dewey is the designee of his party for the Presidential race, then the strategy of the Negro people nationally will be to defeat Dewey in the elections.

¶ This tide against D[illegible] Wendell Willkie [illegible] Roosevelt.

The first and [illegible] to Dewey's backtracking on the Fair Employment Practice Act, a measure proposed by Dewey's own Committee on Discrimination in Employment, came from Adam Clayton Powell, editor of the *People's Voice.*

'Uncle Tom'

Powell denounced the Governor for performing a last-minute maneuver by which he killed two anti-discrimination bills. These bills would have contributed enormously toward ending discrimination in employment for Negro, Jewish and other minorities. Dewey's substitute bill created a new commissi[illegible] study intolerance—to rep[illegible] 1945, well after the election[illegible] exposing the politics behind that move, Powell said:

"This paper now takes this stand—any Negro named by Dewey to the new commission who accepts the appointment will be branded publicly, regardless of his past record, as an Uncle Tom. Any white who accepts will be branded a quisling." 4-3-44

Assemblyman Hulan E. Jack, Harlem Democrat, who was offered a post on Dewey's new committee, declined. Harlem took note of Jack's stand and approved.

There was a sharp and unexpected reaction from Harlem's traditionally Republican and most conservative newspaper, the *New York Age.*

Protest

When Channing Tobias, YMCA executive, led the revolt and resignation of eight members of the Committee on Discrimination in Employment, the *Age* announced the act in a two-line, six-column, front-page headline, tantamount to editorial expression for that newspaper. It also carried prominently the protest of Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, against the Governor's reversal, and the rebuke by the columnist, Frank Griffin.

The independent *Amsterdam News,* now for Dewey, has soft-pedalled the Governor's action. Its president, C. B. Powell, was recently named a Boxing Commissioner by the Governor. Even so the *Amsterdam News* printed Wilkins' criticism of the man in Albany.

Much more significant than the local reaction, however, is the out-of-town thumbs-down which Dewey is getting.

Probably the most influential Negro newspaper in America today is the conservative Pittsburgh *Courier,* which said in its lead editorial Saturday that "it would appear that the colored citizens of the Empire State have soured on Dewey overnight." The editorial called Dewey's action a mistake and minimized his chances for getting into the White House.

The Chicago *Defender,* with the largest Negro circulation in the Midwest, carried a front-page news story under a six-column headline, with the news account strongly interpreted in Dewey's disfavor.

Repudiation Urged

The campaign to defeat Dewey nationally received further emphasis in a statement just issued by Harlem Assemblymen Daniel Burrows and Jack asking that the Negro people and minorities all over "repudiate Gov. Dewey, the appeaser and obstructionist to progress and democracy."

Some Negro leaders are informing Negro editors and churchmen throughout the country of the metropolitan position on Dewey. This was best expressed by Ferdinand C. Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union, CIO, who has an extensive following in Negro and white labor circles nationally. He said: 4-3-44

"The lessons of Dewey's political finagling must not be lost in the shuffle of day-to-day events. We have got to keep these things in the front of our minds . . . The principal point to stress is that Dewey won't do in the White House. To substitute him for FDR would be a national tragedy of the first magnitude."

Negro opinion is not based exclusively on Dewey's flipflop with the Fair Employment Practice Act. Negro sentiment began to develop against him when he took his state's-rights position on the soldier-vote bill. Harlem points out that this robbed many Southern Negro servicemen of the chance to vote for the first time in their lives. Dewey was also silent on a legislative measure which would have outlawed Stuyvesant Town from being erected here. Finally, the Governor cut State aid to education. Next to food, clothing and shelter, education is the first consideration of the Negro people, and Dewey's chiseling in that direction cut Negro educators to the quick.

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The facts: New York's 21st Congressional District starts at the Hudson River, where "white folks live on the hill," then dips into Harlem. Negroes constitute a third of the district's voters; the 21st has not elected a Republican in 22 years; in the shiniest days of the New Deal, the Democratic majority shot as high as 80,000 votes. Last week a Tammany perennial won by a squeaky 1,571 votes.

Actually, Republican William S. Bennet, 73, a Wall Street lawyer who served three terms in the House before World War I, polled more votes than Tammany's candidate, James H. Torrens, 69, received on the Democratic ballot. The 3,226 votes that Torrens got on the leftist American Labor Party's ticket were the margin of his victory. Even more important, Republican Bennet won the only two sections that lie wholly in Harlem. 3-13-44

Democrats and ALPsters, instead of glowing over victory, rushed into print with as many "explanations" as if the[illegible] had lost. Election Day was wet, snow[illegible] and nasty; balloting was only one-fou[illegible] of normal. They alibied on & on: [illegible] Negro Democrats weren't inter[illegible] Franklin Roosevelt himself was not on the ballot; New York's fiery Fiorello La-Guardia, telling his supporters after the election what he was careful not to say before, blamed his Party's weak choice. He described Bennet as "cultured, educated and experienced" and Torrens as a "Tammany wardheeler."

Republicans, working Harlem with success for the first time in years, heard better explanations. What had the hamstrung Fair Employment Practices Commission really done for the Negro worker? How fair a break were Negroes getting in the Armed Services? Republicans heard of many a Negro serviceman returning in anger to Harlem, there to spread dissatisfaction. Often the returned Negro soldier was angry at segregation in Army camps, at the Navy's unabashed racial snobbishness, at the Negro's "token" representation on the fighting fronts. The Negroes who helped elect a Republican Governor last November in Kentucky, and now had voted Republican in Harlem, had taken their protests to the polls.

Crosswaith Joins Reactionary Bloc Against Powell

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

4-20-44

Harlem is incensed at the bitter attack on the congressional candidacy of A. Clayton Powell, outstanding Negro leader, by Frank R. Crosswaith, head of the so-called "Negro Labor Committee" and employe of the reactionary Social-Democrat, David Dubinsky.

Crosswaith is reported to have said concerning Powell, who has the official Democratic endorsement as nominee from the new 22nd district in Harlem, that "we do not want a dark edition of the Bilbo or Rankin ilk who thrive upon exploiting racial and creedal differences."

The statement is being interpreted as a virtual demand that the fight for Negro rights cease. Powell a former city councilman, has been an outstanding fighter for those rights and is consequently a national Negro leader.

The parallel with a Bilbo and a Rankin is considered especially absurd since Powell has collaborated closely with labor and with progressive whites in his struggles on behalf of the Negro people.

Negro leaders recall how last fall another Dubinsky "stooge," Dean Alfange, using arguments similar to those of Crosswaith, attacked ALP endorsement of City Judge Francis E. Rivers, the only Negro ever to reach the city court bench. Alfange threw his support to Rivers' opponent. 4-20-44

LOOKING FOR OPPONENT

Crosswaith's influence in the district is slight, and if that were all Powell had to contend with his election would be certain. But the Negro Social Democrat, fronting for Dubinsky, is part of a much wider movement of reactionary Democrats and Dewey Republicans against Powell's candidacy.

Anti-Roosevelt elements in Tammany have made the Harlem ex-councilman a target in their fight against the county's Democratic leadership, while the GOP machine has been shopping around for a candidate that could unite the various anti-Powell groups.

The first choice of these groups, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has declined to run, evidently realizing that he has no chance to defeat Powell.

They are now trying to induce Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make the race. He is reported to be distinctly reluctant.

Another one of their projected candidates is Cilian B. Powell, Amsterdam News publisher who was recently appointed to the State Boxing Commission by Governor Dewey. 4-20-44

Assemblyman William T. Andrews, Negro legislator, has also thrown his hat into the ring for the Democratic nomination. He is not, however, associated with the reactionary anti-Powell lineup though efforts will probably be made to use him to split Powell's support.

A STRAW IN THE WIND

Age — New York, N.Y.

LAST Tuesday, the special election held in the 21st Congressional District, one-third of which lies in Harlem, was the signal for column after column to be written in the daily press about the first real test of what the Negro vote will do in the coming all-important Presidential election. 3-11-44

This newspaper, along with every other newspaper of importance in the city, urged the election of former Congressman William S. Bennet to the seat vacated by Joseph A. Gavagan, now a Supreme Court Justice. This newspaper had urged Mr. Bennet's election because of his splendid legislative background and because of his sincerity of purpose in wanting to do something constructive for the Negro, not because of color but because of his rights as an American. That Mr. Bennet was a Republican was incidental, although the winner, James S. Torrens, Democratic-American Labor candidate, conducted his campaign on the issue of supporting the national administration which is Democratic, New Deal or what have you.

To the credit of the Negro voters, who were a considerable factor, they voted with intelligence in giving Mr. Bennet a large vote in Harlem, in fact they voted overwhelmingly for him in all Negro election districts. They voted with intelligence, because they did not allow Mr. Bennet's party label to interfere with their good judgment. Mr. Bennet was a good candidate and the better of the two and he got the Negro vote. 3-11-44

To the credit of the Negro voters, too, a warning was indirectly served on the Democratic party's leadership that Negroes are just about fed up with what the party has done or rather has not done for them. A revolt at the polls is one of the quickest methods to bring results. The Negro vote last Tuesday certainly revolted in no small degree, because the normal Negro Democratic districts went overwhelmingly Republican.

The election served a dual purpose: first, it served notice on the Democratic party that Negroes are ready to leave that party's fold by the wholesale; secondly, it served notice on the Republican party that Negroes are ready to return to that party's fold **IF** given the proper encouragement and recognition.

Negroes are ready to leave the Democratic party's fold chiefly because they feel that the party's actions are such as to belie the general conception that it remembered the "forgotten man". The "forgotten man" is still forgotten, and the Negro still remains the most forgotten of the forgotten family of men.

Negroes are ready to leave the Democratic party's fold, also, because they feel that the present national administration's utterances about the "Four Freedoms" do not apply to Negroes in the light of developments both in Congress and the policy-making executive branches. A classical example of this was Secretary of War Stimson's slander of Negroes in the armed services. 3-11-44

Negroes are ready to leave the Democratic party's fold, also, because they feel that too many of their sons and husbands have been maltreated while wearing the uniform of the country's armed forces.

Negroes are ready to leave the Democratic party's fold, furthermore, because they are tired of being regarded as "second class citizens".

Politicially, then, the Republican party stands to gain tremendously if it but capitalizes on the mistakes of its opponent, and proves by words and deeds that it not only welcomes the Negro voter but also will encourage and recognize the Negro's potential power.

The Negro masses left the Republican party in 1932 by the wholesale, because it felt that the party no longer was sympathetic to or interested in the Negro masses. This time, the Negro masses do not want sympathy from anybody. This time, the Negro does not want paternalism. This time, the Negro wants no more than any other person. This time, however, the Negro will stand for no less than any other person. 3-11-44

That is the challenge offered the Republican Party at this time by the swinging Negro vote. The breeze blows the straw strongly in the direction of the Republican Party. Whether the party will take advantage of the gale which is blowing and seize its golden opportunity rests with the party's leadership.

A WORRIED TAMMANY

Age — New York, N.Y.

AS RESULT of the loss of the Negro vote in the special Congressional election just held in Harlem, Tammany is said to be so worried that it plans to name a Negro district leader to a position vacated by the successful candidate, James Torrens, who held a sinecure in the Supreme Court paying some $5,500 a year. 3-11-44

Reports from usually reliable sources have it that the job will go to James Pemberton, Democratic leader of the 17th Assembly District, so that Tammany can trot him out and tell Negro voters: "Come on back in the fold! See what we've done for you people."

Ordinarily, we are elated at every gain the Negro makes, because it means a step up the ladder, even though some appointments are designed merely as sops. Ordinarily, however, the appointing powers have named persons who have been able or capable enough to conduct themselves with the dignity befitting the office, even though the office might be merely that of a stop-gap or figure-head.

In the case of James Pemberton, we cannot be too elated, not because Mr. Pemberton doesn't know his way around politically, but because of his close association with such persons as Clarence Neal, leader of the 20th A. D. who gained not too much glory for himself in the scandal surrounding the nomination of Magistrate Aurelio to the Supreme Court bench. 3-11-44

If Tammany wants to do something to win back the Negro vote, then it should name a Negro party worker whose record is beyond reproach and whose associations do not cause the public to raise its eyebrows in suspicion. Die-hards will never learn, though, it seems, and that is why Tammany is losing out so fast. The general public believed that the new leadership would see the error of the old ways and would make every effort to attract decent and well-meaning voters back to its standard.

Putrid political appointments will only serve to hasten the death of Tammany, and Negroes have for too long been the victims of putrid political maneuvres.

N.Y. CIO Rallies to Aid Marcantonio, Powell

Daily Worker — New York, N.Y.

By MAX GORDON 7-30-44

The New York CIO has issued a ringing call to its members to spend Primary Day in the 18th and 22d congressional districts in Manhattan to put over the drives for three-party nominations of labor-backed Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell.

Primary Day is Aug. 1. The polls will be open from 3 p.m. until 10 p.m.

Union offices will close at 1:30 in the afternoon, and organizers, business agents, local presidents and clerical workers will go down to these two districts to aid in the primary show-down. Workers in shops have been asked to come immediately from work. 7-30-44

Unopposed in the American Labor Party primaries and fairly certain of victory in the Republican, Congressman Marcantonio faces his tough fight in the Democratic contest. His supporters fear that his machine-backed opponent, Rep. Martin Kennedy, will try trickery at the polls if he sees he is licked. That is one reason why labor's aid is essential on Primary Day.

A second reason is the necessity for getting out the thousands of Democratic voters who have signed pledge cards for Marcantonio. If these are gotten to the polls his victory is assured. Labor and other groups are aiming at getting 3,000 workers into the district Tuesday to accomplish these things.

TOUGH DEMOCRATIC FIGHT

Rep. Kennedy has made some efforts publicly to "smear" his labor-supported opponent by seizing upon an error in the mailing of letters to signers of Marcantonio GOP petitions thanking them for their signatures. Through the mistake of a truckman, thoroughly explained, some of these letters went to Republican voters who had not signed Marcantonio petitions. Kennedy has seized upon this to get the district attorney's office to subpoena all signers of Marcantonio petitions in an effort to frighten them.

Further "smear" attempts are expected in the last hours before primary day. 7-30-44

Former Councilman Powell, prominent Harlem Negro leader, is also unopposed in the ALP primary and is expected to take the Democratic race without difficulty. He is the regular Democratic designee. His main fight is in the Republican primary. The weak campaign put up by his opponent, Sara Pelham Speaks, has alarmed the reactionary Dewey-controlled county committee and it has decided to send in a lot of help to prevent Powell from winning. His victory, they fear, will weaken Dewey's campaign among the Negro people in Harlem since Powell is strongly pro-Roosevelt and they will have no Negro congressional candidate as a spokesman there.

Upstate, the nationally-prominent campaign to unseat Rep. Hamilton Fish was featured this week by an attempt of anti-Fish Republicans to smoke Gov. Dewey out on the Fish issue. Two years ago he denounced Fish and said he would not vote for him under any circumstances. This year, despite prodding from Republicans and newspapermen, he has refused to commit himself. His close link with Col. Robert R. McCormick and other political facsimiles of Fish is considered the reason.

THE FIRST ROUND 7-30-44

Both in the fight against Fish and against Rep. Walter G. Andrews, another arch-reactionary in the Buffalo-Niagara area of the state, the primary fight is the preliminary battle. If the GOP opponents of these two incumbents, Augustus Bennett and William Haessler, respectively, fail to take the primary, and there is some doubt as to whether they can take it, they will enter the November fray on three tickets—Democratic, American Labor and an independent ticket that will be set up for them.

Bennett and Haessler are the regular designees of the other two official parties. In order to set up the independent party for win-the-war Republican voters to register support for them, 3,000 signatures have to be collected in each district before the end of August. Dates of filing independent nominating petitions are Aug. 24 to 31.

Other congressional candidates supported by the CIO who are engaged in primary fights are Charles A. Buckley, Democratic incumbent in the 25th who is facing opposition from the most vicious reactionary in the State Legislature, John Devany; and Donald L. O'Toole in the 13th, who is fighting for renomination against the Democratic machine because of his refusal to take orders. Both congressmen have good pro-FDR, pro-labor records.

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5 Big Days For Powell, And Marc

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

CIO unions in New York City declared that their major job between now and next Tuesday is the victory of Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell in all three party primaries for Congress in a call issued to their members. 7-28-44

Congressman Marcantonio, running in the 18th district in Manhattan, faces a stiff fight in the Democratic primary against anti-FDR Rep. Martin Kennedy. He is unopposed in the American Labor Party primary and his GOP opponent is Lt. Robert Palmer, USN.

Powell, the regular Democratic and ALP designee, is fighting also for the Republican nomination against the GOP designee, Sara Pelham Speaks. Mrs. Speaks has entered the Democratic race against Powell, as well.

7-28-44

The CIO call to its members to come out and work for Rep. Marcantonio and Powell describes the former as "labor's strongest voice in Congress," and the latter as an "outstanding spokesman for the Negro people throughout America."

The call asks that canvassers be sent from the union's every afternoon and evening to Marcantonio headquarters at 1484 1st Ave, or at special headquarters set up by various unions. It requests that all union officers, organizers and staffs give at least two evenings for canvassing work for Rep. Marcantonio.

All full time officials and union executive board members are also asked to report to Marcantonio headquarters at 1:30 P. M. on primary day, Aug. 1, and organized groups of unionists working in shops and offices are urged to report immediately after work.

The unions are aiming at 3,000 election workers for the Congressman on Primary Day itself and about 300 each day preceding the primaries. 7-28-44

The call appeals to all union members living in Powell's 22nd district and in all of Harlem to report to Powell headquarters at 132 W. 138th St. every afternoon and evening, and on Primary Day.

In the Marcantonio campaign, unions have been assigned to report on Aug. 1 to one of four headquarters in the district. Members of the CIO Political Action Committee will be on duty at these headquarters, the call says.

Powell Drive Takes on Speed

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

The campaign to send Rev. A Clayton Powell to Congress from the 22nd district in Harlem is moving into high gear. 7-20-44

An excellent educational drive has been undertaken, with frequent outdoor meetings, circulars and posters throughout the area. Door-to-door canvassing, however, has developed slowly.

Outdoor meetings have been enthusiastic and well-attended. Powell has also received the backing of leading Harlem figures of all parties.

Running as an independent, Powell has the endorsement of the American Labor Party without opposition. He is also the official designee of the Democratic Party and had entered the Republican primaries.

The officially-designated Republican candidate, Sara Pelham Speaks, has also entered the Democratic primary against him. Primary elections on Aug. 1 will, therefore, see a contest between the two candidates in both the Democratic and Republican primaries. 7-20-44

CANVASSING NEEDED

Powell supporters believe he will win the Democratic primary hands down, though there seems to be no definite guarantee of that. They are concentrating their canvassing efforts on Republican voters. They claim that the great bulk of GOP voters, when reached, are for Powell, but are unaware that he is running in the GOP, as well as the Democratic, primary. It is feared, therefore, that unless large numbers of these voters are canvassed before primary day they will not bother to show up at the polls, and Mrs. Speaks will carry the contest by means of the regular GOP machine vote.

One of the major jobs, then, in the view of the Powell backers, is to reach most of the Republican voters before, and on, primary day.

Several leading Republican figures are supporting Powell, including J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Negro Elks with a national membership of 2,000,000, and Mrs. Angelina Blocker, outstanding woman leader in Harlem and a power in GOP politics. 7-20-44

Mrs. Speaks is directing her campaign at getting the women's vote. She has not raised any issues of principles. Powell is campaigning on a win-the-war, pro-labor, expand democracy program.

New York's Primary

Daily Worker—New York, N.Y.

NEW YORKERS have a heavy responsibility in Tuesday's primaries.

While in most congressional districts there will be no primary contests, enrolled Democrats and American Labor Party voters should nevertheless make it their business to turn out to register support for pro-Roosevelt incumbents and designees.

In a few congressional districts, however, there are contests upon which the national spotlight is focused and which will help determine the character of the coming Congress. 7-30-44

Such a district is the 18th in Manhattan, where Congressman Vito Marcantonio is engaged in a bitter fight with a notorious anti-Roosevelt congressman for the Democratic nomination. Rep. Marcantonio is the outstanding organizer in Congress of the pro-FDR, pro-labor forces. His victory is a matter of first rate importance.

Such a district is the 29th, where the malodorous Hamilton Fish is facing the toughest fight of his career. And such a district is the 22d in Harlem, where Adam Clayton Powell, one of the great national figures among the Negro people, is fighting for a three-way nomination.

The job of electing Marcantonio and Powell and defeating Fish is not only one that concerns the people in the districts. In the two New York campaigns mentioned, and in others both for Congress and State Legislature, labor and other groups are urging their members all over the city to come out and help on Primary Day.

Warning From Harlem

Courier—Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Administration in Washington will do well to give careful thought to the results of the February 29 by-election in the 21st Congressional District of New York where the Democratic candidate, with the backing of the American Labor Party, squeezed through by the narrow margin of only 1,517 votes over his Republican opponent. 3-11-44

This Congressional District consists of five Assembly districts and has a population of around 400,000, of which 40 per cent are Negroes, chiefly massed in the 19th and 21st Assembly districts.

It is a rock-ribbed Democratic district and has been for the past generation, the last Congressional representative, John A. Gavagan, having received 60,588 votes to 30,796 for his Republican opponent in 1942, or almost two to one.

The significant thing for the Administration to note is that the two Assembly districts in which the Negroes of the 21st Congressional District are massed, gave the Republican nominee a majority, and were the ONLY districts that did.

Since these two Negro districts have regularly returned majorities for Democratic candidates for the past generation, the question arises as to why colored voters, mostly intelligent and well-informed, voted against the Administration.

We believe the vote of the Negroes in the 21st Congressional District of New York is a barometer of the feeling of Negroes all over the United States, and we believe further that their change of allegiance is due to the growing feeling among Negroes that the Administration has let them down, to put it mildly. The same Assembly districts that voted against the Democratic candidate on February 29, voted seven and eight to one for the President in 1940.

The Harlem Negroes, like those elsewhere, are bitter over the treatment of their sons, husbands, brothers and sisters in the armed services.

They are bitter over color discrimination in the administration of the Selective Service, in the Army, the Navy and the Coast Guard.

They are bitter over wholesale segregation in practically every department and institution the Administration controls.

They are bitter over the failure of the Administration to protect colored service men from insults and terrorism in and around training camps in the South and elsewhere.

They are bitter over the leaning over backward of the Administration in catering to Southern reactionaries, and the attitude of officials like Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of the Navy Knox toward democratic integration of Negroes into the armed services.

What should interest the Administration, with another Presidential election in the offing, is that the attitude of the Negroes of Harlem is identical with that of the Negroes all over the country. 3-11-44

Regardless of locality or section, American Negroes are thinking ALIKE on practically all questions affecting them, and the Harlem vote is a warning that Negroes in other parts of the country will certainly follow Harlem's example at the polls unless some very definite changes are made in Administration policies . . . and quickly.

THOSE TWO HARLEM WARDS

Courier-Journal-Louisville, Ky. 3-7-44

Republican shift of Negro voters in recent special New York election alarms fourth-termers, Kent says

By FRANK R. KENT.

Washington.

THE most interesting thing about the by-election last week in New York City was not the continued Republican trend which almost beat the Democratic candidate in an overwhelmingly Democratic district, but the sharp shift of the heavy Negro vote in two Harlem wards. The public generally, perhaps, has not grasped the significance of this, but there isn't a practical politician in either party who missed it.

It promptly brought New York Democratic leaders to Washington, where they warned Mr. Roosevelt's political advisers that unless effective steps to check the trend are taken the result easily might be loss of the State's electoral vote. They pointed out that these two wards which on last Tuesday went 2 to 1 for the Republican candidate, voted 8 to 1 for Mr. Roosevelt in 1940. And they further expressed the conviction that this shift of the Negro vote is national, not local, citing a number of recent election figures to sustain it.

The question is whether the undisputed tendency of the Negro voter to return to his Republican "home" can be halted by Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy. No understanding politician will minimize the importance of the answer to that question. In New York, there are approximately 250,000 Negro voters; in Pennsylvania even more. In New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan the number of Negroes is sufficient to give them balance of power in any close election. There are, thus, eleven States where this is true and they are the indispensable states with the largest electoral votes.

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IT IS useful to understand one or two other things about the Negro vote. Distinctly, it is not a vote which is affected by either foreign or domestic issues. It is not a vote that concerns itself much with anything except the attitude of parties and candidates toward its group. It measures that attitude by the recognition it receives politically, socially, economically. Certainly, it has received more recognition along all three lines from the Roosevelt administration than from any previous one, Democratic or Republican. Why then, it is asked, should there now be a diminution in Roosevelt ardor upon the part of Negro leaders, Negro newspapers and the rank and file of the Negro vote? There are a number of reasons.

3-7-44

One is resentment among Negroes over alleged segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. They have looked to Mr. Roosevelt to stop that and he has not done so. Another is discrimination against Negroes by some labor unions and the railroads, which Mr. Roosevelt has failed to combat. Another is that the Fair Employment Practises Commission, set up by the President under pressure from Negro leaders, has been almost wholly futile, largely through lack of Presidential support. And finally, there is the very potent fact that the W.P.A. no longer exists to hand out relief money to hundreds of thousands of Negro voters. Nor will it come into existence again before election.

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JUST as among the whites—in the South there is deep resentment over the "coddling" of the Negroes by Mr. Roosevelt and the social equality gestures of Mrs. Roosevelt, unquestionably there is resentment among the Negro leaders toward Mr. Roosevelt because, they say, he often has failed to accompany words with deeds and doubts of his sincerity have been instilled. There is, also the fact that some of the more powerful of the Negro leaders are distinctly friendly to one or the other of the two Republicans most likely to be Mr. Roosevelt's opponent this time—Governor Dewey or Mr. Willkie. Toward the first there is real Negro gratitude for bringing about the election of Justice Rivers to the City Court Bench in New York, the highest judicial position ever held by a Negro. 3-7-44

To Mr. Willkie, some very influential Negroes feel indebted for the impassioned plea he made a year or so ago to moving picture magnates in Hollywood to give the Negro on the screen more "human dignity" and stop picturing him exclusively as a servant or a laborer. Against either of these men, it is asserted, Mr. Roosevelt will not receive anything like the percentage of Negro votes he got in 1936 or in 1940, which has been estimated as high as 90 per cent. The candidacy of either Mr. Willkie or Governor Dewey, plus the trend, might easily transfer the bulk of the Negro vote back to the Republicans. And that, from the fourth term viewpoint, would be serious, indeed. For, the loss would be in the big cities of the big states without which election is not possible. Appreciating these things, it is not surprising that the New York leaders should warn of the danger in the situation.

POWELL DECLARES 'NEGRO FIRST' AIM

New York Times, N.Y.

Democratic Candidate Says He Will Represent All Other Americans After That

4-9-44

Dr. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. recently designated Democratic candidate for Representative from the newly apportioned Twenty-second Congressional District, said yesterday that, if elected, he would "represent the Negro people first" and "after that all the other American people."

Dr. Powell made the statement during a press conference at his home, 732 St. Nicholas Avenue, where he specified the "three basic principles" that he said would constitute his program.

"I will never be a machine man," he declared. "I will represent the Negro people first. I will represent after that all the other American people."

The district which the Negro pastor seeks to represent in the House extends roughly from 110th Street to 159th Street and from Amsterdam Avenue to the Harlem River. Dr. Powell estimated that 90 per cent of the residents were Negro and that the remainder comprised men and women of Irish and Spanish extraction. He added that if he were elected he would be the first Negro to be sent to Congress from the East. 4-9-44

Dr. Powell, who is 35 years old, is pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem and a former member of the City Council. He criticized some recent Congressional policies as tending to draw a line between winning the war and winning the peace. He maintained that the two aims were indivisible and that any program to set them apart was bound to fail.

Asserting that "there will never be any real victory nor lasting peace until the rights of Negro men are recognized on an equal basis with the rights of all men," Dr. Powell declared that he would strive for representation of the Negro people at the peace table. He said he favored abolition of "Jim Crowism" in all branches of the armed forces and designation of lynching as a Federal crime.

Randolph Not To Run For Congress

Daily World - Atlanta, Ga.

4-26-44

NEW YORK—(A N P)—Declaring that he can render a greater service to the Negro people outside of congress than in congress, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car porters, Thursday reclined to enter the race against the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, prospective Democratic and American Labor party nominee in the new Harlem Congressional district.

Stating that the "pay-off" necessary to get ahead in public office "may involve compromises of various sorts which may strike at the basic convictions, ideals and principles that one has held dear all of his life," Randolph said that he could not accept nomination from the Communist-dominated ALP," and that neither the domestic nor foreign policies of the Republican or Democratic parties could win his support since they are "not calculated to extend, preserve or consolidate the forces of democracy at home or abroad.

4-26-44

Leaders Back Powell; Church Gives $10,000

People's Voice - New York, N.Y.

2-5-44

In an historic break from the passive position of non-participation in the selection of elected governing officials, the membership of the largest Protestant church in the world, Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem, through its All Leaders' Council voted to take an active part in the election of Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of the church to Congress. Nor was the decision of the token of half-hearted variety. The authorization from the official board of the church gave practically carte blanc to marshall the entire resources of the church behind the effort to give the largest Negro community in the world representation in the nation's representative body. Specifically, ten thousand ($10,000) dollars was pledged to Dr. Powell, payable on demand on or before April 1.

The church campaign is in no way intended to be a separate campaign. On the other hand, the 14,000 members of the church are set to gear in with any campaign to be conducted by any citizens' committee or parties who endorse Powell as nominee. As proof of their position in this effort, the money already pledged will be contributed to whatever committee set up to conduct the campaign on a non-partisan basis.

LETTERS IN MAIL

That the committee means business is attested to by the fact that already the non-partisan committee is placing letter in the mails to over two thousand leaders of all phases of Harlem life — church, trade union, fraternal, professional, business, consumers and youth groups. These letters will invite all such leaders to serve as members of the Non-Partisan Citizens' Committee. Among the signers of these letters are: Dr. Lucien Brown, Reverend George Sims, the Hon. J. Finley Wilson, Miss Rachel Carrothers, and a number of equally significant leaders. Directing this campaign will be Joseph Ford, Dr. Powell's personal secretary. 2-5-44

Organized labor has already taken a positive stand in behalf of Reverend Powell. At its meeting last Friday night, the United Labor Party of AFL and CIO trade unions endorsed Powell for Congress and called for complete unity of all members.

On the religious front a meeting has been planned for next week at which time interdenominational groups will be set up to aid in the election of Reverend Powell.

Thus the long-time dream of Harlem for real representation in the Halls of Congress begins to take shape as a-soon-to be-realized actuality, as experienced political observers are already putting Powell down as a cinch to negotiate the trail from Harlem to Washington as the people express their will.

Harlem Choice

Time - Chicago Illinois

New York City is about to send its first Negro to Congress. The Congressman may be a woman. That the new Congressman will be a Negro is almost certain, because a newly carved Congressional District will include all of Harlem and not much else. But if the woman candidate is to win, she will have to beat one of the slickest spellbinders Harlem has ever produced. May 22, 1944

The woman is stately Sara Pelham Speaks, who will be 41 on Election Day. An attractive Harlem politico with an upswept hairdo, she is a criminal lawyer, wife of a Harlem physician, mother of a four-year-old son. She has been in politics almost all her life. Her father ran a Negro newspaper in Washington, D.C. Last week the Harlem Republican Organization made her its nominee.

Next day, in a hurriedly called press luncheon in Harlem's swank Hotel Theresa, she told newsmen: "I was frightened when I first heard I was chosen to run—for about 15 minutes. But I'm not frightened any more." Her soft-spoken husband, Dr. F. Douglas Speaks, proudly served drinks from a side table. Said Mrs. Speaks: "You have to work with people to put any program over. I do not believe that there is too much that a Negro Congressman can do alone in Washington." Her platform, however, includes a proposal to revise the 14th Amendment so that southern states that disfranchise Negroes will have their Congressional representation cut.

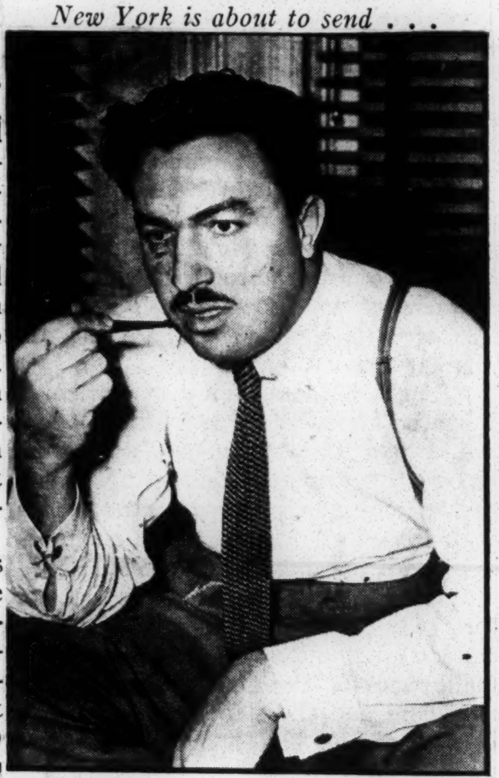
"The Women Love Him." Sara Speaks's formidable Democratic opponent is the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who succeeded his father as pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church. Its 10,173 members are reportedly the largest Protestant congregation in the U.S. Tall (6 ft. 4 in.) and young (35), Adam Powell has been successively a javelin thrower at Colgate University, a redcap in Manhattan's Grand Central Terminal, a New York City councilman. He has also led several Harlem picketlines, and edits an aggressive tabloid, *The People's Voice*. Handsome in a gates-ajar collar, Powell makes a hell-raising speech, likes to kiss the women-folk in the congregation afterward. His secretary says proudly: "All the women love him."

As the campaign began, Sara Speaks scored the first victory. At his own first press conference (with drinks from the pantry-bar in his four-story Harlem house) Dr. Powell said: "I will represent the Negro first, and all other Americans next." Quickly Sara Speaks, who knows that there are also about 31,000 Irish, Italians, Puerto Ricans and Spaniards in the new district, said: "My major concern will be for *all* of the people of my district."

Time-chicago, Ill
May 22, 1944

International

HARLEM'S SARA SPEAKS
New York is about to send . . .



International

HARLEM'S ADAM POWELL
. . . its first Negro to Congress.

Timely Topics

Amsterdam News
New York, N.Y.

By EARL BROWN

Congress Bound!

Who is going to be elected to Congress from the new Harlem district is the paramount local political question that won't be settled, of course, until Election Day next November. Nevertheless, politicians and a bevy of aspirants for the rich plum are already sweating over the topic. In fact, nothing in the long and rocky political history of Harlem comes anywhere near equaling it in importance—not even the juicy political scandal a few years ago following the arrest and conviction of Jimmy Hines, erstwhile Tammany district leader, for furnishing aid and comfort to sundry policy racketeers. 2-19-44

It should be noted at the outset that the election of a Negro to Congress from Harlem is a very important matter. It will mean that there will, no doubt, be two instead of one, Negroes in Congress—a hundred per cent increase. Though two out of 435 members of the House of Representatives are only a drop in the bucket, if mere numbers are considered, the fact remains that any Negro sitting in the House as a member of either party gives definite political stature to Negro Americans. It is a real indication that they belong politically.

As a matter of fact, the election of former Congressman Mitchell of Chicago, to the House in 1934, was in many respects the most important political event that has occurred in the 20th century, insofar as Negroes are concerned. For when he took his seat on the Democratic side of the House he shattered the myth of a national lily-white Democratic Party. He became a real participant in the party caucus, he served on Huose committees and otherwise performed the duties of a U. S. congressman.

Conspicuous among the candidates for Congress from the new Harlem district are the Rev. Adam C. Powell, Jr., Assemblyman William T. Andrews, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of the National YMCA. Among those who are said to be willing to serve in the high office, if they are "persuaded" sufficiently, are Lardine Johns, Dr. Marshall Ross and James Pemberton and Fred D. Dickens, respectively Tammany leaders of the 17th and 19th Assembly Districts. There are also a host of others who could be imbued quite easily to sit in Congress at $10,000 a year, plus emoluments.

As time goes by, however, this field of candidates and would-be candidates will naturally be reduced. Though other potent candidates may be added to the list, a lot of political morning glories now a-blooming will be pruned from the field before the sun shines hotter.

The "Ace" Candidate

The ace among the candidates is the Rev. Powell. He stands out like a sore thumb. He has also been "running" for Congress ever since he was elected to the City Council a little over two years ago. So intent is he to be elected to the national legislature that he chose not to run for re-election to the Council last fall in order to devote more time to running for Congress, he says. 2-19-44

Currently, Assemblyman Andrews and Dr. Tobias are considered to be the Rev. Powell's chief adversaries for the seat. It is even reported that Dr. Tobias, who is unusually ubiquitously busy in affairs of race, if not of politics, has already captured the GOP nomination.

Preacher Powell, however, is in many respects, the conundrum of local politics—he is simultaneously the white knight and the villain. First, he is the darling of a lot of people, the idol of the masses. Recently it was reported that his church, the Abyssinian Baptist, voted him $10,000 for his campaign. As everyone knows this isn't hay, and it should go a long way to smooth the "primrose" path to Congress for the youthful firebrand.

Secondly, the Baptist pastor is strongly opposed for the nomination and, of course, the election, by practically all local politicians. They are against him because (1) they say he doesn't play the old army, clubhouse game of politics, except when he is the beneficiary; (2) he is a perennial threat to the peace, quiet and security of regular politicians, because he can always take his case directly to the people, thereby by-passing, circumnavigating the politicos.

Because he is a political conundrum and at the same time a political power in Harlem, and because he can go over the heads of the leaders, some of them naturally froth at the mouth whenever his name is mentioned. They accuse the preacher of being a political renegade, a would-be dictator, and other such unsavory things. They point out that he did absolutely nothing for anybody, except himself, when he was in the City Council, and they predict that he will do entirely nothing for the people, if he is elected to Congress. 2-19-44

Despite "Name Calling"

Despite the name calling binge in which some of the local leaders indulge whenever the Rev. Powell's name is mentioned, they deeply fear his vote-getting ability. As one of them put it: "Sure I'm against him, because I know he wouldn't be a credit to us in Congress. But the voters think he would, and who am I to go against them? I wish to God I could set them straight about that guy, but if I fight him I'll probably get hell licked out of me in due time. But he's a real danger to the people as well as to us politicians."

From all indications, the Rev. Powell will have the fight of his life in his bid for a seat in Congress. But so will all other candidates. Come what may, the election of a Harlemite to Congress next fall promises to ge a great, if not necessarily good, political treat. All because of the fact that the unpredictable, stentorian, bombastic, boyish Rev. Powell has his hat squarely in the ring.

First Negro Congresswoman?

New York Democrats, in the past accustomed to electing a Democratic Congressman from Harlem, largest Negro community in the world, now admit privately that Harlem probably will elect a Republican this year.

Furthermore, the Republicans will probably send the first negro congresswoman in history to Washington. She is Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, recently nominated on the GOP ticket to run from New York's new 20th district.

Opposing Mrs. Speaks will be flamboyant Adam Clayton Powell, negro clergyman, newspaper publisher and left-wing member of the New York city council. St. Petersburg, Fla. Times

Mrs. Speaks comes from one of Harlem's prominent families. Her husband is a doctor who formerly played with a jazz orchestra. She herself is one of the most successful criminal lawyers in Harlem. 5-27-44

Meanwhile, Herbert Bruce, negro leader of Tammany Hall, has refused to support Mrs. Speaks' opponent, Adam Powell. This, together with the zeal of negro women to elect one of their own sex to congress, probably means certain Republican victory.